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OF

THE WARS

RESULTING FROM THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION:

With a relation of the Circumstances which led to that important Event.

CONTAINING EVERY MATERIAL OCCURRENCE, FROM THE ASSEMBLING OF THE NOTABLES IN 1787, TO THE PRESENT PERIOD;

INCLUDING

THE LIFE OF

Napoleon Bonaparte,

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF HIS MILITARY CAREER, TO HIS FINAL DEPARTURE FOR ST. HELENA.

ALSO,

Authentic Biographical Sketches

OF THE MOST

EMINENT PUBLIC CHARACTERS OF EUROPE.

To which is added,

AN APPENDIX,

CORRECTLY DETAILING THE VISIT OF THE ILLUSTRIOUS FOREIGNERS TO THIS COUNTRY, &c. &c.

Compiled from Official Documents,

BY EDWARD SEYMOUR, ESQ.

OF THE INNER TEMPLE.

VOL. I.

London:

PRINTED FOR THOMAS CRABB,

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1815.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE study of History has ever been viewed as both pleasing and profitable; conveying instruction in a more agreeable way than by precept. By the recital of great events, the attention is engaged; portraits of virtue and vice are held up to view, calculated to promote the cultivation of the former, and excite abhorrence of the latter.

In the History of the World, there has not been a period marked with such striking incidents, as have taken place in Europe within the last thirty years. Ancient Monarchies subverted;—Republics, venerable for their antiquity, annihilated;—Sovereigns hurled from their thrones;—and crowns and sceptres placed at the disposal of a man, who, after pulling down one Prince and setting up another, and ruling the nations with a rod of iron; has, by the immediate hand of Providence, been driven from the splendid seat of usurped authority, and is now indebted to the magnanimity of his conquerors, for the preservation of his existence as an exile.

The FRENCH REVOLUTION is an æra of the greatest importance in the annals of the Eighteenth Century; and an account of every circumstance relating to the Wars that have arisen from it, must be interesting to every one; or, to use the emphatic words of Lord Chancellor Bacon, "It must come home to every man's bosom." Posterity will look back with astonishment at a Revolution, in its nature, extent, and operation, so unprecedented; and in its consequences, so important. The history of this Revolution, combines that of the nations of Europe; and is especially connected with the history of our own country, at an epoch rendered celebrated by the administration of a Statesman, now no more.

It has been the aim of the author of this work to render it worthy of general attention; and he flatters himself, that by the great care he has bestowed on the compilation, it will be found a complete register of all the circumstances of a transaction, that will excite the wonder of future generations to the close of time.

Names of the
Metropolitan Circles.
1 Circle of Paris
2 ——— the Coasts of the Channel
3 ——— the North East
4 ——— the East
5 ——— the South East
6 ——— the Coasts of the Mediterranean
7 ——— the South
8 ——— the South West
9 ——— the North West
10 ——— the Centre
Explanation.
Boundaries of the Metropolitan Circles
Do of the Departments
Seats of the Metropolitans
Do of the Bishops
Towns giving a Name to a District
Do having a Tribunal of Justice
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BAY OF BISCAY
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Plymouth
Portland I.
I of Wight
Portsmouth
Alderney I.
Guernsey
Jersey I.
Cherbourg
Sark
La Hogue
Caen
Bayeux
Isle Bas
Brehat I.
Ushant I.
Morlaix
Brieux
Dinan
Quimper
Portivy
Vannes
Roche Bernard
Belle Isle
Nantes
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Noirmoutier
I. d'Yeu
Les Sables d'Olonne
Rochelle
Oleron I.
Rochefort
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Bourdeaux
Cadillac
Barsac
Bayonne
Mauleon
Pau
Tarbes
Lourde
Argelles
PYRENEES
Dax
Aire
Mont de Marsan
Tartas
Roquefort
Nogaro
Condom
Agen
Montauban
Montpellier
Barbezieux
Angoulême
Niort
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Guienne
Gascony
Bearn
Navarre
Basque Provinces
Languedoc
Roussillon
Foix
Andorra

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Bruges
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Gravelines
Malines
Louvain
Mastrich
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Joinville
Neufchateau
Schlettſtat
Troyes
Chaumont
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Colmar
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Is ſur Tille
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HISTORY

OF

THE WARS

resulting from the

French Revolution.

INTRODUCTION.

Preliminary Sketch of the State of France, from the Meeting of the Notables to the Execution of Louis XVI.

France had acquired more glory under the government of the princes of the house of Bourbon, than ever had distinguished the monarchy under preceding sovereigns. Louis XIV. was eminently distinguished for a spirit of bold enterprise and boundless ambition. He wished to rival Charlemagne. He was a prince endowed with transcendent talents, and was great both in the cabinet and the field. But all his superior qualifications were degraded and debased, by the malignant hatred which he ever expressed for the Protestant religion. The wisest of his ministers in vain conjured him not to tarnish the laurels he had acquired, by acting upon a system of intolerance. Not only did he harbour the most unjust suspicions of his Protestant subjects; but he wished to subjugate every Protestant power in Europe to the yoke of his tyranny. He had the temerity to shiver a lance with the Hero of Nassau, the bulwark of the reformed religion. By an act of the most crooked policy, he revoked the Edict of Nantz, which the illustrious Henry the Fourth had granted: and by the rigorous operation of this measure, banished from his dominions thousands of his industrious subjects: ingenious artisans,

who were happy while they could find an asylum in other countries, where they could worship God agreeably to their consciences, and establish their valuable manufactures.* Thus did Louis *le Grand* by this memorable act of imbecile bigotry, weaken the commercial resources of his own kingdom, and unknowingly contribute to aggrandize the strength of those powers, which were more particularly the subject of his jealousy and enmity.

Louis was peculiarly fortunate with respect to his ministers and generals: Colbert was a man of profound judgment, a minister of great integrity, and a zealous promoter of the arts, sciences, and literature. To the pernicious counsels of his confessor, Father de la Chaise, was owing the debilitated state of the French monarchy at the death of Louis XIV. A fatal blow had been given to the manufactures of France by the exiling of the numerous Protestant mechanics, who had fled from thence in consequence of the revocation of the Edict of Nantz; vast sums of money had been expended, in the ill-projected expeditions which the French monarch had at various times fitted out in support of the fugitive English prince James II. and the Pretender. Thus at the time of the decease of Louis XIV. France was in an impoverished condition, and although through the insidious conduct of Harley and Bolingbroke, the ministers of Queen Anne, Great Britain at the peace of Utrecht had sacrificed much to France; yet this did not counterbalance the immense losses which that kingdom had sustained, through the ill directed ambition of Louis, and his blind subserviency to the dictates of the Pope and his agents. The conduct of the ministers of Louis XV. was little calculated to ameliorate the evils which had been so detrimental to the prosperity of France in the preceding reign. The population of the capital always rises and falls, in proportion to the degree of peace which the country enjoys. In 1773, when the tyranny of Louis XV.'s ministers was at its height, the population had considerably decreased. The period of time when Louis XVI. ascended the throne was highly unfavorable; existing circumstances were

* A vast multitude of these venerable refugees established themselves in the vicinity of London, in Spitalfields; where they introduced the invaluable manufacture of silk weaving.

against him: endowed with virtue which rendered him worthy of the throne; but devoid of the talents requisite for a sovereign at such a crisis. Unfortunately also, this prince was too much inclined to leave the management of public affairs to his ministers: a circumstance which ultimately led to the abolition of his authority.

Before we enter upon the history of the FRENCH REVOLUTION, we shall state some of the causes which produced so important an event. The first thing which led to it was the impolitic conduct of Louis XIV.: although, during his life, no prince was more grossly flattered; yet in the reign of his successor, his measures were discussed with a spirit of freedom before unknown. His odious tyranny had made a forcible impression on the minds of the people, and he who, by the incense of flattery, had been exalted nearly to the rank of a god, was weighed in the balance of justice and equity, and found wanting, even in the exercise of human virtues. The persecution of the Protestants had led to free inquiry, and great dissatisfaction was expressed at the deranged state of the finances, owing to the money which had been squandered away in abortive projects, arising from the crude ebullitions of ambition combined with bigotry: many eminent writers, by the productions of their pen, expatiated upon these topics in a bold, clear, and perspicuous manner.* We, therefore, are of opinion, that the foundation of the French Revolution was laid in the reign of Louis XIV. It is a scripture maxim, "a little leaven, leaveneth the whole lump," and sentiments inimical to tyranny and oppression being once disseminated, spread with inconceivable rapidity. The debauchery which disgraced the court of Louis XV. excited merited disgust. Louis XVI. succeeded his grand-father when only twenty years of age: he had married when Dauphin, Maria Antoinette, sister to Joseph II. emperor of Germany. This marriage was truly unfortunate, and proved the source of numerous evils; and, as the history of the Revolution will shew, was *one* cause of it. 1774.

Louis was also greatly deceived in the choice of his ministers. When he came to the crown, a war had commenced between Great Britain and her American colo-

* Voltaire in his "Age of Louis XIV." J. J. Rousseau, The Abbé Mabley, and many other writers of great note.

nies. It was at the opening of this disastrous war, that Mr. Fox exclaimed in the British senate, "Lord Chatham, the king of Prussia, nay, Alexander the Great, never gained more in one campaign, than Lord North lost;—he has lost a whole continent." The words of this celebrated statesman were fatally prophetic. The American congress had implored the aid of his Most Christian Majesty, to assist in emancipating the colonies from the authority of Great Britain; the Count de Vergennes, in an evil hour, counselled his Majesty to make a treaty with America; which, after the usual negotiations, was solemnly entered into; and Benjamin Franklin, the philosopher, was appointed the ambassador, on the part of the congress, to the court of Versailles. It required no great portion of political sagacity to presage what must inevitably be the result of so incongruous a coalition. The French nation was already inundated with pamphlets, deprecating the tyranny of the government; the horrors of the Bastile were depicted in glowing colours; Mirabeau had written energetically on *Lettres de Cachet;* and at this crisis, Vergennes advised his royal master to send his troops to a country newly republicanized, and thus to imbibe principles of a democratic nature. How short-sighted must that minister have been! Even Neckar, coadjutor with Vergennes, was weak enough to give his sanction to a measure, the fatal consequences of which he lived to see and to experience! The motive which excited these statesmen thus to act, was to weaken the power of Great Britain, and secure the independence of America; in this they succeeded, but at the price of the French monarchy, which they were the undesigning means of annihilating; and opened the path which led their sovereign to the scaffold.

Among those military commanders who were ordered into the service of America, was the Marquis de la Fayette, who afterwards made such a conspicuous figure in the Revolution. A writer who knew him well, and who mingled among the different groupes of the Parisian revolutionists, thus speaks of him:—"He had made seven or eight campaigns in America, much to his reputation as a soldier; he had also *spent his leisure hours* with Washington, Paine, Schuyler, and others; not less to his honour as a philosopher: and was highly esteemed by them all. It was in *their company*, that he attempted the fierce-

ness of the warrior, with the philanthropy of the man. It was *from them* he *learnt* (for he was very young) *those maxims of civil polity*, which served as the groundwork in the constitution of the free American government, and which were one day to be disseminated among his companions at home. Thus, by mixing with, and being admired by *all classes of his countrymen*, he taught them to carol songs to reviving freedom, instead of those dirges which they had so lately chaunted over its remains."*

We have thus a palpable demonstration of the pernicious effects resulting from the union of France with America; which was *the grand and principal cause* of the French Revolution.

When the American Colonies had their independence recognised by the treaty of 1783, a visible change was speedily observed in the capital of the French nation. The finances were in the most deranged state; not all the abilities of Neckar, who had presided with eclat over that branch of the administration, could devise a method to restore the national credit. The embarrassment and perplexity he experienced, induced him to resign his situation, in which he was succeeded by M. De Calonne. If not superior to Neckar in financial abilities, he was more dexterous in resources and expedients, which all proved unavailing. It was this minister that recommended to the king, under circumstances of so unpleasant a nature, to call together the Notables. This name imported the most distinguished persons in the kingdom. This assembly had been summoned by Charles the Sixth, in 1413; and also in the minority of Louis the Thirteenth. They were summoned to a council by the king's royal sign manual; and on this occasion they amounted to one hundred and forty. They assembled Feb. 22, 1787. The meeting of this grand assembly was opened by the king in person, and M. Calonne, in a laboured harangue, expatiated on the embarrassed state of the finances; severely arraigning the conduct of his predecessor, and imputing the distresses of the country to his misapplication of the public money.

An idea had long prevailed in Paris, that Calonne had been guilty of great extravagance in the management of the finances. The fact was, Calonne had to encounter with po-

* Mr. Sampson Perry's Sketch of the French Revolution. Vol. i. p. 7.

pular prejudice: he was not the gay profligate debauchee he was represented. Neckar, wearied of the task he had undertaken, resigned, to avoid that disgrace which he foresaw must fall on the minister of finance; and Calonne, his avowed rival, wishing to achieve an Herculean labor, and devoid of the prudence and economy of Neckar, involved himself and the finances in greater embarrassment. Being also attached to the sciences, especially mineralogy and conchology, he expended vast sums in furnishing a museum, which was afterwards exhibited in London, and denominated, "The Calonnian Musæum."

The statements of the minister of finance were, by no means, acceptable to the Notables: Calonne was disgraced, and happily emigrated from a country becoming the seat of popular discord, and found an asylum in England. He was succeeded by Cardinal De Brienne, Archbishop of Thoulouse. This ecclesiastic was high in the favor of Louis; and as the assembly had evidenced much dissatisfaction at the meanness of the court, the Cardinal exerted himself to the utmost to produce acquiescence and submission. Two taxes had been proposed to the assembly by the ministers of the crown, (the Notables having been dissolved May 25, 1787,) to the parliament at Paris; and De Brienne confidently asserted, that the assembly had recommended this measure to the parliament. The Cardinal, far from finding the members under the influence of passive submission, had the mortification to experience the most decided opposition to the proposition he had made. The edicts for imposing the new taxes were thrown out, and the utmost indignation animated the parliament against the new minister.

The situation of affairs began now to wear the most gloomy aspect; nothing was heard in the capital but murmurings, intermixed with bitter sarcasms on the king and his ministers: the spirit of liberty began to extend itself throughout the kingdom; this the following anecdote fully exemplifies: The provincial assembly of the generality of Rouen, after having assisted at mass, celebrated by the Cardinal Rochefoucault, went afterwards to dine at the hotel of his eminence; in compliment to whom, one of the members after dinner, proposed to drink the Cardinal's health, to which his eminence objected, saying, "It was their duty to give the king first." But his Ma-

jesty not being a *popular character*, a great altercation took place; to appease which the worthy Cardinal rose, and with an emotion of sentiment and patriotism, declared it was their duty, above all other toasts, to give, *The Public Welfare;* which was immediately done with the most lively tokens of joy, and accompanied by the music of the regiments in garrison.

It is to be lamented that Louis at this time had not a minister around his person who was at this critical period calculated to give him salutary advice. The Cardinal of Thoulouse was a sycophant statesman, a debauched ecclesiastic, and a man whose abilities did not surpass mediocrity. But there was a counsellor whose lessons of instruction the king eagerly acted upon, which were pregnant with evil; this was Maria Antoinette. Transplanted at an early period of life from the court of Vienna, to that of Versailles, she drank deeply of the Circean cup, like Mary Stuart of Scotland. Emerging from a state of restraint, and placed in a court, the gayest in the world, she was immersed in a vortex of pleasure, and placed no bounds to the gratification of her passions. Like Mary, she was formed by the Graces; and her features exhibited the most delicate lines of beauty. Like the Scottish queen, she also was the quintessence of elegance in her behaviour and deportment: her demeanor was so fascinating, that it inspired all who beheld her with an admiration approaching to chivalrous adoration; and those who have seen the late queen of France, will never dispute the propriety of that splendid burst of eloquence, which flowed from the pen of Mr. Burke, when speaking of her:* Antoinette, like the unfortunate Mary, was haughty, supercilious, and arrogant with respect to the people; she viewed with a jealous eye the convoking of the Notables, particularly the discussion of the question of the finances: as she well knew that she had drawn immense sums from the national funds for her own expenditure. It was by her advice, in conjunction with the Cardinal, that Louis was induced to dissolve the assembly of the Notables, and summon the parliament of Paris before him at Versailles, where a bed of justice was held, Aug. 6, 1787. In the worst periods of the French government, and under the administration of the most despotic

* Burke's Reflections on the French Revolution.

of their monarchs, such an arbitrary measure as this was very rarely adopted: no wonder then that from the hitherto mild, and, comparatively, lenient government of Louis XVI, the summoning to this bed of justice excited astonishment, mingled with sentiments of horror, throughout the country. Here the members of the Parisian parliament were imperiously obliged to submit to have the obnoxious edicts registered; but the temper of the people was in too perturbed and irritated a state, to suffer their representatives to be insulted with impunity. The parliament judging rightly of the public feeling, returned to Paris, opened a new session, and entered upon the journals the proceedings at Versailles; protesting at the same time against the proceedings at the bed of justice as illegal. The experience of past ages has proved, that one act of arbitrary power has been productive of many others. The court party were resolved to have recourse to most severe measures to reduce the parliament to obedience: *lettres de cachet* were issued against the members, and the sittings were transferred to Troyes in Champagne, a distance of one hundred miles from the capital.

The Count D'Artois, the king's brother, was deputed to wait upon the refractory parliament, to present to the members those decrees which they had so strenuously opposed; as if a determination had been formed to strike terror into them. The Count repaired to Troyes with a splendid military cavalcade, and escorted with all the pomp due to a prince of the blood. The consequences which followed this injudicous act were of an alarming nature; and exhibited, without disguise, the prevailing opinion of the times. The Count immediately upon leaving his carriage was saluted with groans and hisses; and in answer to the propositions which, in the name of the king, were submitted to the assembly, it was boldly asserted, that the parliament had power to prevent the operation of any tax imposed, but that no other power inferior to the States General could impose new ones. The Count was filled with indignation and rage, and quitted the place with reiterated marks of popular disgust, having to convey to his royal brother a message not of the most soothing nature, namely, "That the parliament had resolved not to take up the consideration of

the taxes again, whatever compulsory measures might be used.

The Archbishop of Thoulouse, who yet remained keeper of the king's conscience, advised him to pay a visit in person to the parliament; this step served only to widen the breach: the presence of the Sovereign excited a greater freedom of debate, and more animated reflections on the grievances complained of; and Louis, with the most intemperate exercise of his royal prerogative, commanded the edicts to be registered without any further opposition. At this moment a most singular circumstance occurred; Philip Duke of Orleans, the brother of Louis, stepped forward and advocated the cause of the parliament, by protesting against the interference of the royal authority, and declaring this exercise of it to be an infringement of the rights of the people; and pronouncing it, in the present instance, to be null and void.

Among those who had listened with no small pleasure at the carols of American liberty, sung by La Fayette, were many of the noblesse: Orleans had assembled a multitude of these disaffected persons around him. This prince had early evidenced a turpitude of character: a degree of moral depravity which marked him as the very fungus of the human species; he was a compound of whatever can be viewed as villainous and base; he seemed to have formed himself upon the model of a Caligula, a Nero, or a Domitian; his vices were of the most degrading nature, neither did he possess one virtue to soften the depravity of his character. When Duke of Chartres he had visited England, where his debaucheries, and his nefarious acts of peculation, exposed him to general execration. He saw with exultation the disputes which had arisen between the king and the parliament, and actively employed a multitude of spies about the court, from whom he received daily intelligence of whatever transpired there. The party to which he had attached himself were too sensible of the advantages to be drawn from his influence, to animadvert upon the impurity of his character; it was even believed that a true patriotic zeal for the welfare of his country had fired his bosom; at least it was not suspected that, under the disguise of a patriot, he was actually aspiring to the crown. Philip hated his brother, because he was virtuous and amiable in private life; the scenes now taking place opened to

him a prospect, (by secret cabaling and cajoling the malcontents,) of supplanting Louis, and wresting the sceptre from him: it was on this memorable occasion, before the parliament, and in the presence of his Sovereign, that the Duke of Orleans made his first public *debut* as a REVOLUTIONIST.

Louis was not unacquainted with the nefarious conduct of this prince, whom he had long ceased to notice; and, although the parliament were astonished at his conduct, Louis felt only emotions of indignation. Happy, indeed, would it have been for his future welfare, could he have acted with duplicity. He could not conceal his anger from the assembly: a triumph for Orleans. On the following day the duke received a peremptory order to retire to his country seat. No act could be more impolitic; already the country was in a state of ferment, owing to the late proceedings of the king. The present period was well calculated to ameliorate circumstances, to make a few *sacrifices* to the parliament and the nation; and timely stop the progress of civil discord, and the tumult of the people. Could the statesmen who now surrounded the king; could the cabinet of Versailles be ignorant of the designs of the Duke of Orleans, when he stood up in the senate and proclaimed himself the friend of liberty? Even if his ministers were thus beguiled, was Louis a stranger to the stratagems and manouvres of so dangerous a character? No, neither Louis, Maria Antoinette, nor the Archbishop of Thoulouse, could plead want of knowledge on the subject; but they were culpably negligent in an affair of the highest importance. The king, without a moment's reflection, implicitly followed the evil course which was whispered in his ear, conveyed from the impure palace of Trianon, where Maria Antoinette, like a second Lais, was revelling in licentiousness, through the medium of De Brienne. Had the king at *this epoch*, abandoned the obnoxious idea of forcing upon the parliament those edicts for raising money, his popularity would have been restored, tranquillity established, and Orleans retired with shame to his den of iniquity. But Divine Providence had decreed otherwise. The banishment of the duke was universally execrated; and as the grand mass of the population of the country did not penetrate into the secret motives which biassed his conduct, he was hailed as a martyr in

the cause of liberty. To goad the feelings of the public still more, those execrable engines of French despotism were made use of, denominated, "*Lettres de cachet*," which were issued against some distinguished members of the parliament. These acts of severity had no effect in repressing the efforts of the parliament; remonstrance followed upon remonstrance, until the king, with a menacing tone, ordered the subject to be no longer discussed. The Cardinal minister, who little expected so prompt and decided an opposition to his measures, felt in no respect inclined to relax, but was devising new plans of a more arbitrary nature. Of the temper and description of the nation at this time an idea may be formed by the following extract from a paper published at Paris, under the title of, "*Arrêtes des Provenceaux*;" the principal object of which was to impress upon the minds of the people a due sense of their rights and liberties:—"Resolved, that we have known the Lion of England couched on his prey; but closing his talons, the prey has rose and become the lion in turn: what has happened in England may happen elsewhere!" 1788.

The situation of the manufacturers was at this time deplorable; at Lyons near ten thousand silk weavers were out of employ. Louis had been advised to hold another *bed of justice*, which was held May 8. In opening it Louis delivered the following speech:

"There is no point in which my parliament has not, for this year past, deviated from its duty. Not satisfied with raising the opinions of each of your members to the level of my will, you have presumed to say that a Registry, to which you could not be forced, was necessary for confirming what I should determine, even at the request of the nation.

"The parliaments of the provinces have adopted the same pretensions, the same liberties.

"From hence it results, that some laws, as interesting as desirable, have not been generally executed; that the best operations have become weak; that credit is destroyed; that justice is either interrupted or suspended, in order that the public tranquillity might be shaken.

"I owe to my people, to myself, and to my successors, to put a stop to these extravagant proceedings. I

might have restrained them, but have preferred rather to prevent the effects of them.

"I have been forced to punish some magistrates; but acts of rigour are contrary to my nature, even when they are indispensable.

"My intention is not to destroy my parliament, I mean only to bring them back to their duty and their original institutions; to convert the moment of a crisis into a salutary epocha for my subjects: to begin a reform in the judicial order by that of the tribunals, which are the basis of it; to procure to the suitors in our courts, a justice more speedy and less expensive; to trust the nation again with the exercise of their lawful rights, which must always be united with mine.

"I mean, above all, to set in every part of the monarchy, that unity of views, without which a great kingdom is but weakened by the number and extent of its provinces.

"The order I intend to establish is not new: there was but one parliament when Philip le Bel, fixed his residence at Paris. In a great state, there must be one king, one law, one registry; courts of a jurisdiction not too extensive, entrusted with the power of judging the great number of law suits; and, parliament to which the most important suits must be referred; one only court in which the laws common to the whole kingdom, shall be enregistered and preserved. In short, an assembly of the *General States*, not once only, but whenever the exigencies of the state may require it.

"Such is the re-establishment which my love for my people has prepared, and which it now announces for their happiness: the only object of my wishes is to render them happy."

Notwithstanding the mild tenor of this speech, it was designed to cover the introduction of measures of an arbitrary nature. The archbishop had been busily employed in forming a plan of a "*Cour Plénière*," composed of princes, peers, magistrates, and military officers; M. Lamoignon, keeper of the seals, was appointed to draw up the articles of this new constitution, which resembled a full court, or council, as observed in England during a regency: this court was to register the king's edicts, authenticate them, and communicate them to the different inferior courts, in the various jurisdic-

tions of France. The parliament were decidedly against this court being formed; that of Britanny loudly protested against it, as a most illegal and oppressive measure. All the members who composed the deputation with the address from this parliament, were without ceremony committed to the Bastile. This was followed by the formal dissolution of the parliament of Paris, and the different courts dependent on it. Armed troops had surrounded the parliament; and, upon its dissolution, the governor of Paris came immediately to the Palace, and took possession of all the archives, papers, &c. and locked up the doors. In consequence of these transactions, disturbance and tumults took place in various provinces. The inhabitants of Thoulouse drove the commandant and the garrison out of the city. All Britanny was in arms. The parliament at that place assembled June 3, and made a solemn declaration, that whoever should execute the orders of the new form of governmen, *The Cour Plenière*, should be considered guilty of high treason. In Grenoble, the capital of Dauphiny, the populace pillaged the commandant's house, forced open the gates of the arsenal, where they armed themselves, and blocked up the officers and troops in the garrison until they had consented to lay down their arms. The Duke of Ronnere, who was governor of the province, was also obliged to give up the keys of his palace.

Lamoignon, who, at the instigation of the cardinal, had been the cause of all this mischief, was so deeply affected with the bad success of his project, that he committed an act of suicide by cutting his throat.

The Duke of Orleans was at this time in London, where he arrived May 16. He immediately repaired to the house of Calonne, the late minister of finance. The Noblesse were not unconcerned spectators of the critical state of the nation; forty-seven peers and bishops drew up the following protest, in behalf of themselves and the nation, which was presented to Louis:

"Sire,

"It is with grief we approach your Majesty, in the line of our duty, which we cannot withstand.

"Considering the present very alarming state of public affairs, the discontents that prevail among people of every rank, of the tumults that have already occurred, and the accounts that are arriving daily of fresh insur-

rections of the most alarming kind, and the causes to which they are attributed.

" As peers born for the security of the throne; and as citizens bound for the public welfare; we cannot consistent with our loyalty to your Majesty, our duty to ourselves, the nation, and posterity, let the present period pass unnoticed.

" Whatever our sorrow on the occasion, duty pressed us forward, justice requires, and zeal for the constitutional law of the land, impels us to remonstrate at your throne.

" From these motives it is our duty to protest against the dissolution of the national parliament; the edicts of the 26th of April, respecting *the Cour Plenière*, and all succeeding edicts that have passed in consequence; and every other act contrary to those laws, founded in justice, wisdom, and moderation.

" With the most legal sentiments we lay these before the king, hoping that God may incline our sovereign to reconsider his measures, and prevent in future, things to go on in that channel, to which for ages they have been heretofore accustomed; and an alteration of which cannot but entail ruin, and the consequences of which are too easy to be seen, on the sovereign and the people."

After the king had received the above, a council was held, and *lettres de cachet* were absolutely issued out, and signed, against the persons who had subscribed. But at midnight one of the king's brothers waited upon him, and prevailed to have the letters recalled. It was now evident that nothing could appease the indignation so prevalent throughout the kingdom, but an entire change of men and measures. The Archbishop of Sens, the prime minister, was dismissed from his employment, August 25. The king did every thing to continue him in power, and when forced to discharge him, he received the promise of a cardinal's hat. De Brienne, Archbishop of Thoulouse, the minister of finance, was also dismissed, and succeeded by M. Neckar. The *Cour Plenière* was abolished, and an entire change of system was effected. Neckar foresaw what dangers awaited him, being placed at the helm at this dangerous crisis. At first he hesitated; but an especial message from the queen, produced his acquiescence. Nothing

could exceed the enthusiastic joy which the reinstatement of this highly popular minister occasioned: he was denominated, *Spes, salusque populi*. The hope and salvation of the people. While the name of Necker was echoed with reiterated applause, from the capital to the remotest provinces of the kingdom, a general burst of indignation was expressed against the ex-minister, Cardinal Brienne, and the Archbishop of Sens. The former was carried about in effigy, richly arrayed in his metropolitan robes, and, at length, committed to the flames. The military in vain endeavoured to restrain the excesses of the mob; swords and bayonets were ineffectually made use of. After the confusion occasioned by such an attack had subsided, the soldiers were obliged to make a precipitate retreat.

In consequence of Necker's appointment, the Duke of Orleans, who had been recalled, was again admitted at court. The new minister, sensible of the distracted state of the country, instantly advised his sovereign to convene the States General. An order of council was issued for convoking this assembly, Dec. 27; in which it was stated, that the deputies to the States General should, at least, amount to one thousand; that each bailiwick should send such a number as should be agreeable to the ratio of its population and taxes; and that the members of the *tier état*, or third estate, should be equal in number to those of the nobility and clergy united. The last precedent of the assembling of the States General, was in 1614, when the members voted in the orders they represented: the order of nobles by itself, that of the clergy by itself, and the *tier état* by themselves. The meeting of the States was postponed until May, the ensuing year.

The popular elections were conducted, as might have been expected, with much clamor and tumult; and several insurrections took place in consequence of the disturbed state of the poor. And, to add to the general calamity, there was a scarcity of bread, particularly in Paris; this occasioned a serious tumult in that city, which broke out in the Fauxbourg St. Antoine. The military, as usual in such cases, were called out to fire upon the mob; but a forcible appeal was made to the soldiers; "Would you stifle our cries (exclaimed the Parisians) for bread, by forcing bayonets down our 1789.

throats?" Whether the military in this district were yet under the influence of the court; or whether they viewed the present occasion as not the season for making a declaration of their sentiments; certain it is, they fired upon the populace, and killed several of the rioters. The infuriated mob had recourse to every weapon that could be procured, with which the soldiers were successfully attacked in their turn, and routed. A cruel expedient was then resorted to; several pieces of cannon were conveyed from the Bastile, and planted in the streets of St. Antoine; and, dreadful to relate, they were discharged; by which not only many of the aggressors were killed, but numbers of persons who were merely spectators, fell a sacrifice to this atrocious display of military cruelty! Prior to the meeting of the States General, the electors of Paris drew up instructions for their deputies, with respect to the following articles:* the first related to the constitution; the second to the finances; the third to agriculture and commerce; the fourth to religion, the clergy, education, hospitals, and the public morals; the fifth to legislation; and the sixth to various objects concerning Paris.

The following *Declaration of Rights* was also drawn up:

"In every political society, the rights of all *men* are equal. The rights of the nation shall be established, and declared on the following principles: All power emanates from the nation, and can only be exercised for its happiness. The general *will* constitutes the *law;* the public force secures its execution. The nation alone can grant subsidies, has the sole right of determining the quantum, of limiting their duration, of apportioning the respective shares, of assigning their employment, of demanding an account of their expenditure, and of calling for the publication of it. Laws exist only for the purpose of maintaining each citizen in the possession of his property, and of his personal safety. All property is inviolable. No citizen can be apprehended, or punished, but by a legal judgment. No citizen, not even a soldier, can forfeit his rights, without previous judgment. Every citizen has a right to be admitted to offices, professions, and dignities of every kind. The natural, the civil, the

* Perry's Sketch of the French Revolution, vol. i. p. 28.

religious liberty of every man, his personal safety, his absolute independence on any other authority but that of law, forbid every scrutiny into his opinions, his conversation, his writings and actions, inasmuch as they neither disturb public order, nor infringe the rights of others."

In consequence of this preliminary sketch of the Rights of Man, the deputies were instructed to demand, the abolition of personal servitude as established by the *feudal system;* whether in forced enrolments for the militia; extraordinary commissions for judging of life and property; the violation of public faith, by opening letters entrusted to the post-office; to demand the liberty of the press, on condition of the authors signing their manuscripts, and of the responsibility of printers. The declaration of these rights to become the national charter, and basis of the French government. Numerous other instructions were given, relative to the kingly power, administration of justice, &c.

The clergy of Paris drew up also a declaration for the instruction of their deputies; which stated, that inviolably attached to the constant doctrine of the church of France, and the ancient principles of the French constitution, being alarmed at the kind of revolution which had lately taken place, they declared, that the clergy knew no other constitutional law in France than the monarchical, and hereditary from male to male; no sovereign authority but that of the king; no legislative power but the royal only; nor any one above the king, save God, and the law.

The nobility also drew up instructions for their deputies, which chiefly insisted on, the individual liberty of the citizens; the security of property; the freedom of the press; letters not to be opened at the post-office; and the sitting of the States General to be limited periodically to three years.

That day at length arrived, so important and interesting, when the eyes of all Europe were directed to the meeting of the States General. It was on May 5, the States General assembled at Versailles; his Majesty was attended on this ever memorable occasion by the Queen, Monsieur, the Count D'Artois, Madame, and Madame Elizabeth, his Majesty's sisters; and Mesdames Victoire and Adelaide, his aunts. The Duke of Orleans having

been elected a deputy from the noblesse, took his seat accordingly among that body. The awful and impressive ceremony was introduced by a solemn act of religious homage to the Deity. The splendor of the scene was such as France had not beheld in its proudest days. The dress of the king, royal family, ministers of state, and the nobility, was magnificent in the extreme, while the costly apparel, and elegant decorations of the queen, princesses, and ladies of the court, enhanced the charms of beauty, and presented a scene which produced a magic effect. The king addressed the States of his kingdom in the following speech:

"The day my heart has so long waited for, is at length arrived, and I see myself surrounded by the representatives of the nation, which it is my glory to command.

"A long interval has passed since the last meeting of the States, and though the convocation of these assemblies seems to have fallen into disuse, I have not hesitated in re-establishing an usage, from which the nation may acquire new strength: and which may open to the kingdom a new source of honor.

"The debt of the state, which was already immense at my accession to the throne, is still increased under my reign, an expensive, but honorable war, has been the occasion of it.

"An augmentation of taxes was the necessary consequence, and the unequal participation of them is more sensibly felt.

"A general inquietude, and an exaggerated desire of innovation, have possessed the minds of the people, and would end by totally misleading their opinions, if measures were not speedily taken to fix them by an union of sober and moderate counsels.

"It is in this confidence, gentlemen, that I have assembled you, and I see, with sincere pleasure, that my confidence is already justified by the dispositions which the two first orders have shewn to renounce all pecuniary privileges.

"The hope I have conceived of seeing all the orders united in sentiments, concurring with me for the general good, will not be disappointed.

"I have already ordered considerable retrenchments in the expences: you will give me still further ideas on

the subject, and I shall receive them with pleasure; but in spite of the resources which a very strict economy may offer, I fear, gentlemen, that I shall not be able to relieve my subjects so speedily as I could desire.

" I shall order to be laid before the assembly an exact state of the finances; when you have examined it, I am sure that you will propose to me the most efficacious means of settling them on a permanent footing, and of establishing the public credit.

" This great and salutary work, which will secure the happiness of the kingdom at home, and its consideration abroad, will give you a very essential employment.

" The minds of people are agitated; but an assembly of the representatives of the nation, will listen only to the counsel of wisdom and prudence.

" You must have yourselves judged how far people have deviated from them on many recent occasions; but the prevailing spirit of your deliberations will answer to the true sentiments of a generous nation, whose love for their king has been their grand characteristic.

" I shall banish every other remembrance. I know the authority and power of a just king in the midst of a faithful people, attached, from the earliest ages, to the principles of monarchy, which have caused the glory and splendor of France.

" It is my duty to support them, and I will constantly preserve them. Whatever may be expected from my tender regard to the public happiness, whatever can be asked of a sovereign, the first friend of his people, may be hoped from my sentiments.

" May a happy union, Gentlemen, reign in this assembly; and may this epoch become for ever memorable, for the happiness and prosperity of my kingdom. It is the wish of my heart, the most ardent of my prayers; it is, in short, the reward I expect from the rectitude of my intentions, and my love for my people."

This speech was received with great applause. After the keeper of the seals had made a short address, Neckar addressed the assembly in an oration of great length; he expatiated on the deranged state of the finances, to which he directed the attention of the States General.

The ardent wishes which the king had expressed for unanimity of sentiment, failed of success. The nobles and clergy, as soon as the king had retired, proceeded

to their own chambers, refusing to sit with the *tier état;* in consequence of which, that order amounting to five hundred and eighty-eight persons, resolved to continue their sittings, and declared themselves the representatives of the nation, denominating themselves, The Commons. Conferences were appointed between the orders of the nobility and clergy; but they terminated without advantage to either party. M. Necker presented a plan of conciliation from the king, proposing, that the three orders having verified their titles, should reciprocally communicate them to each other; that in case of disputes, the commissioners of the three orders should communicate them to the chambers of their respective orders to be settled: and the decision should definitively be left to his majesty. The commons, viewing this message from Louis as merely designed to protract time, began the exercise of their public functions, by inviting the clergy to unite with them. The clergy deliberated upon this proposition, but afterwards sent a prevaricating answer to the commons, who at length transmitted a message to the other two orders, demanding their attendance as *individuals*, but not as *legislators*, as they were about to assume the *exclusive* power of legislation. This bold measure was proposed to the assembly by the Abbé Sieyes; it was then moved, that a committee of twenty-four persons should digest and frame all that the house should deem proper to publish of their proceedings, and that a printing-office should be at the disposal of the assembly. These motions were opposed upon the idea of their inexpediency; but M. Mirabeau (the celebrated author of the work on *lettres de cachet*,) having joined the representatives of the commons, he instituted a printing-office, for the above mentioned purposes. Rabaud de St. Etienne, a clergyman of the French Protestant church; having reported, that from a conference he held with the ministers, there was no prospect of any union being formed with the nobility and clergy, the Abbé Sieyes immediately rose and moved the following resolution:

"Resolved, that the two orders of Nobility and Clergy, be considered only as the deputies of two corporations or classes of men; that they can have no deliberate voice on a national concern, but when in conjunction or coalition with the nation's representatives; that hav-

ing been invited to assemble in this house, we do consider ourselves *the representatives of the nation;* and that our assembly be styled, THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY."

This resolution was unanimously adopted, amidst a thunder of applause, and loud shouts of *Vive le Roi; Vive l'Assemblée.* The deputies then individually took the following oath: "We promise, and swear, to fulfil with zeal and fidelity, the functions with which we are charged." This bold and decisive measure of the *tier état,* took place on June 17. So greatly was the ecclesiastic order intimidated by it, that two days after, the chamber of the clergy passed a resolution expressive of their acquiescence. Many of the nobles also joined the commons, upon this assumption of authority: among whom were, the Duke of Orleans, Marquis de la Fayette, Duke de la Rochefoucauld, Count de Crillon, &c. The Archbishop of Paris, on the part of the clergy, was also introduced to the national assembly, by the Bishop of Bourdeaux. The ministers of the crown were greatly alarmed at these proceedings: the fatal consequences of their imbecility; for Necker was obliged to frame his conduct agreeable to that of his coadjutors. By the advice of the Count D'Artois, the king was induced to hold another bed of justice, for the express purpose of enabling the nobles, and the clergy, to oppose the national assembly. On June 23, this royal session was to be opened. The assembly had an extraordinary meeting to enter a protest against the proceedings of the court, and their opponents: the debates continued till a very late hour in the evening: having adjourned to the following day, upon resorting to the usual place for assembling, the doors were closed, and guards placed around; all remonstrances were vain; express orders had been given, that no member should be admitted. The new legislators were, therefore, under the painful necessity of holding their sittings in a tennis-court adjoining! Then the following spirited resolution was drawn up:

Resolved, Never to separate, but in case of death, till the object of the mission from our representatives is accomplished, viz. That of establishing a constitution.

The royal session was opened at nine in the morning, by a speech from the throne, in which his Majesty agreed to grant, the liberty of the press, under certain

regulations; as also to accept the surrender of the privileges as tendered by the nobility and clergy. He assured the assembly, that he would not levy taxes without the consent of the States General. He censured the *tier état* for the violence and rashness of its proceedings, and closed with recommending conciliatory measures for restoring harmony to the three estates.

At the close of the speech, the Marquis de Buze, master of the ceremonies, addressed M. Bailli, the president, saying, "Sir, you know the orders of the king." Mirabeau immediately arose, and in a strain of eloquence peculiar to himself, exclaimed, "We know, for we have heard what they have suggested to the king, (adverting to the ministers); but how dare you, who have neither seat nor voice here, bring *their* discourse before this assembly. Go, tell your master, that we are here by the authority of the people, and the bayonet alone shall expel us."

M. Necker had manifested great displeasure at the measures the court had lately adopted; he, therefore, sent in his resignation, which Louis did not think expedient to accept. No sooner was this circumstance known, than all Paris was in a state of commotion; Necker was the idol of the people, and when it was known that his resignation had been tendered, the populace forcibly carried him on their shoulders, into the sacred avenues of the palace. So great was the consternation which filled the court with respect to the proceedings of the national assembly, that Marshal Broglio was stationed with an army of 35,000 men, in the neighbourhood of Paris and Versailles. Necker had been restored as it were by popular favour, but was no longer the *ostensible* minister of the crown. The king distrusted him; the queen hated him; the Count D'Artois, and the princes of Condé and Conti were secretly undermining his interest. At length the king, seduced by the vicious insinuation of the above-mentioned junto, was prevailed upon to banish this honest and amiable statesman from his counsels for ever, and to exile him from France. He was ordered to depart the kingdom in twenty-four hours. The sensation caused by this scandalous transaction, in the metropolis, and throughout the kingdom, was of the most impressive nature. In the former place, business was suspended; the exchange closed; even the gay

votaries of pleasure exhibited symptoms of melancholy, while the populace, to testify their admiration of this great man, carried his bust in triumph through the principal streets, while the air resounded with the cries of thousands, and tens of thousands, "*Vivé Necker; Vivé le bon Necker!*"

Every circumstance was now in favor of the national assembly; and the aspect of affairs portended awful consequences. The vast population of Paris was actually in arms, and it appeared as a city besieged; twenty thousand muskets were placed in the hands of the people, in the course of a few hours. The hospital of invalids was a fine depot for arms, and thither the multitude flocked in all directions; routed the guard, which consisted merely of a few disabled pensioners; nor did one individual leave the place without a sufficient stock of arms.

It may naturally be supposed, that the patriotic enthusiasm which had pervaded the country, had effected some change of sentiment among the military; this was evidenced in the following instance: During an insurrection in the Fauxbourg St. Marceau, the French guards were commanded to fire; which order they resisted, and grounded their arms; seventeen were committed the following day to the Abbey prison, but in three days were released.

It was usual at this time for many persons to mount a temporary rostrum in the streets, and harangue the people: among these civic orators, Gorsas, and Camille Desmoulins, were most eminent; the latter (who made a conspicuous figure in the revolution) was a celebrated advocate, and possessed the most fascinating powers of elocution. Numerous groupes assembled to hear these and other revolutionary orators; but on July 12, the Prince De Lambesq, with a body of German cavalry, entered the place called *Louis Quinze*, and ordered, by sound of trumpet, that all the assembled groupes of citizens should disperse. In consequence of the above despotic orders, the mayor of Paris was formally called upon to organise the militia; and in conformity to the resolutions published by the national assembly, which were posted on the door of the Hotel de Ville, in a day or two eighteen thousand of the militia were mustered; an astonishing proof of the progress of revolutionary principles.

Such were the existing circumstances on the 13th of July. The succeeding day will, from its momentous events, form an epoch never to be forgotten in the annals of history. The Bastille, which had for centuries been destined for the incarceration of state and other criminals, had received within its walls a multitude of prisoners, who had been committed without any just cause: but from a secret jealousy entertained by the ministers, *any suspected person* was immediately sent to that state prison.

The Parisians were too well acquainted with the horrible mysteries attached to that place, not to feel sentiments of extraordinary indignation; and here it was that hostilities were first to commence. M. Delauney was the commandant; a man devoid of every principle of honor, and callous to every feeling of humanity. It had for some days been whispered among the political circles at Paris, that an assault was to be made on the Bastille. The ministers treated the idea with marked contempt; and Delauney was so fully convinced of the supposed impregnability of this ancient fortress, that he most absurdly neglected to place it in any state of security. The Parisians had private intelligence of the paucity of the garrison; the stupendous walls, and the deep fosse which surrounded this detestable state prison, could not preserve it from being stormed by a mob armed with muskets, pikes, hatchets, hammers, &c. "To the Bastille!" was the general cry, and in a moment the whole population of Paris was in motion; the French guards joined the insurgents, and the attack commenced with a fury almost without a parallel. A summons had been sent to the governor, who, with a contemptuous sneer, bid defiance to the citizens, and pointed to the cannon on the ramparts: a parley ensued, which lasted but a few minutes; a discharge of artillery was then played off by the insurgents, and returned by the garrison. Delauney perceiving, to his great astonishment, that the besiegers were upon the point of taking the fortress, had recourse to a horrible stratagem, which has covered his name with eternal infamy. He ordered the draw-bridge to be let down, and invited a deputation of the citizens, to a conference within the walls; when, on a given signal, the draw-bridge was raised, and the unfortunate persons were butchered in cold blood. This execrable act of

treachery and cruelty, stimulated the besiegers to greater exertions, and, in less than an hour afterward, the Bastille was taken. Delauney received the merited reward of his perfidy; he was beheaded, and his head was carried in triumph on a pike, through the streets of Paris.

Upon the surrender of this castle, where for ages deeds of infernal darkness had been perpetrated, every chamber and secret recess was explored, and the most shocking scenes were presented to view. Many unfortunate beings, who had not beheld the light of the sun for a series of years; who had languished in dark and damp dungeons, and were reduced to skeletons, were set at liberty. The Earl of Massarene, who had been confined in this prison for debt, was released by this extraordinary event. Myriads of people flocked to behold the dark chambers of this celebrated place; and after curiosity had been amply gratified, the multitude began to demolish the walls, and the whole interior of the fortress, so as to leave not one stone upon another.

A few historical anecdotes relative to this famous building, cannot but prove interesting to the reader. That eminent philanthropist, Mr. Howard,* was not permitted to visit the Bastille, but was enabled to procure some very curious particulars concerning it.

This state prison consisted of eight very strong towers, surrounded with a fosse, about 120 feet wide, and a wall 60 feet high. The entrance was at the end of the street St. Antoiné, by a draw-bridge, and great gates into the court of L'Hotel de Gouvenment; there was another draw-bridge, which led to the corps de garde. This court was 120 feet by 80; in the middle was a fountain. On the top of the towers was a platform, continued in terraces, on which the prisoners were permitted to walk, attended by a guard; on this platform thirteen cannon were mounted. The dungeons of the Tour de la Liberté, (the Tower of Liberty) extended under the kitchen; a small chapel was on the ground floor, in the wall of which were five recesses, or closets, in which the prisoners were placed to hear mass, one by one, and where they could be neither heard or seen. The dungeons at the bottom of the tower exhaled the most offensive effluvia, and was the receptacle of toads, rats, and all sorts of

* Howard's State of the Prisons.

vermin; in the corner of each dungeon was a camp bed, made of planks, laid on iron bars fixed to the walls, with some straw. These dungeons had no windows, but openings into the ditch; they had double doors, the inner ones plated with iron, with large bolts and locks. Of the five classes of chambers, the most horrid, next to the dungeons, were the iron cages, formed of beams, with strong bars of iron. The chambers at the top of the towers were formed of freestone. All the chambers were numbered, and the prisoners called by the name of the tower they inhabited. If any prisoner was dangerously ill, he was (in general) removed from the prison; those who died in it. were buried in the parish of St. Paul.† A library was founded by a prisoner who died in the prison. Upon the surrender of the Bastille,‡ a book, called, "The Register of Commitment," was found; in which was a specification of the crimes of the prisoners. This list of criminals was published; and among the alleged offences were the following: Writing verses against the king; —disrespectful words against the king;— verses against Madam Pompadour;—attempting to present a petition to the king whilst hunting;—a woman for assembling persons at her house for the purpose of teaching them how to imitate fits;—M. Angelique, for asserting that cards were the devil's books. Such were some of the pretended crimes for which the unfortunate persons were torn from the bosom of their families, and secluded from society; dragging out a miserable existence in horrid dungeons and iron cages of this detestable prison!

Henry Maseres de la Tude, who was a prisoner in the Bastille, published an account of his sufferings, and his extraordinary escape. He was committed by order of Madam Pompadour, mistress of Louis XV. La Tude effected his escape in the following manner. The iron hinge of his table, by whetting on a tiled floor, was converted into a knife; with this he removed the bars, and formed a saw; by daily concealing wood given him for firing, he constructed a ladder; his portmanteau contained several dozen of shirts, and pairs of silk stockings;

† The celebrated prisoner in the iron mask, supposed by Voltaire to be the brother of Louis XIV. was buried in St. Paul's.

‡ Perry's Sketch of the French Revolution.

two dozen pairs of under stockings, and as many drawers and napkins; with these he formed a rope adequate to a thousand feet, by means of which he scaled the walls. La Tude was eighteen months employed in the above work.

Nothing could exceed the consternation of the cabinet at Versailles, upon hearing of the destruction of the Bastille. The ministers cautiously endeavoured to conceal this disastrous circumstance from the king; but Louis was apprised of it by the Duke de Liancourt, who repaired to his chamber at midnight, and informed him of the situation of the capital. The king, on the ensuing day, repaired to the national assembly, and informed the members, that he had ordered the troops to quit Paris. The assembly immediately sent deputies with this important intelligence to the citizens, who had so lately displayed their valor in the destruction of the Bastille. M. Bailli was chosen mayor of Paris; and the king having ordered the name of the French guards to be changed to that of the National Guards, the Marquis de la Fayette was nominated commander.

The late unexpected events induced the Count D'Artois (now Louis XVIII.), the Prince of Condé, the Prince of Conti, the Dukes of Luxembourg and Vauguion, and Marshal Broglio, to emigrate; while Necker was soon after recalled, and triumphantly reinstated in office.

To conciliate the inhabitants of the metropolis, Louis had signified his intention of visiting Paris, which he entered in state on July 17, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants. He was met by Bailli, the mayor, who presented him with the keys of the city, saying, "These, Sire, are the same keys which were presented to Henry the IVth: he came to conquer his people: this day it is the people who reconquer their king." The national assembly now proceeded to the grand work of framing a constitution. Three plans were submitted by La Fayette, Mounier, and Sieyes, which were subsequently presented to the king. Mirabeau presented the report of the committee for the declaration of Rights; this declaration was in substance as follows:

1. That all men were born equal and free.

2. That the design of all political associations, is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible Rights of Man.

3. That those rights are, liberty, property, security, and resistance of oppression.

4. The nation is the source of all sovereignty. Political liberty consists in the power of doing whatever does not injure another.

5. The law ought to prohibit only actions hurtful to society. The law is an expression of the will of the community.

6. No man to be accused, arrested, or, held in confinement, except in cases determined by the law, and according to the forms which it has prescribed.

7. The law to impose no other penalties, but such as are absolutely and evidently necessary: no one to be punished but in virtue of a law promulgated before the offence, and legally applied.

8. Every man to be viewed innocent till he has been convicted; whenever his detention becomes necessary, the law shall provide against his being treated with rigor.

9. No man to be molested, on account of his opinions, nor on account of his religious sentiments, provided his avowal of them does not disturb the public order established by law.

10. The unlimited diffusion of thoughts and principles, being one of the most valuable rights of man, every citizen may speak, write, and publish freely, provided he is responsible for the abuse of this liberty, in cases determined by law.

11. A public force is necessary to give security to the rights of men; that force is instituted for the benefit of the community, and not for the particular advantage of the persons with whom it is entrusted.

12. A general contribution being necessary for the support of the public force, and defraying other expences of government, it ought to be divided equally among the members of the community, according to their abilities.

13. Every citizen shall have a right, either personally, or by his representatives, to a free voice in determining the necessity of public contributions; the appropriation of them, their amount, mode of assessment, and duration.

14. Every community possesses a right to demand, of all its agents, an account of their conduct. Every community, in which a separation of powers, and a se-

curity of rights, is not provided for, wants a constitution.

15. The right to property being inviolable, no one ought to be deprived of it, except in cases of public necessity, legally ascertained, and on condition of a previous just indemnity.

While the national assembly was thus engaged in framing a new code of laws, the capital was suffering the most aggravated distress, owing to a scarcity of food. Foulon, a proud and arrogant man, who had succeeded Necker, in answer to some remonstrances on this important subject, had the temerity to assert, "That hay was food good enough for the common people." This exclamation, from one of the ministers, and at such a crisis, caused a serious tumult at Paris. Foulon thought to escape the vengeance of an insulted and enraged populace, by an ignominious flight; but the place of his concealment being discovered, he was dragged from thence, and, with his mouth stuffed full of hay, was suspended by a rope to a lamp iron, where he terminated his miserable existence.

The arrival of M. Necker, in some degree, tranquilised the public mind. The ministry was now arranged as follows: Necker was the minister of finance; Montmorin, secretary for the foreign department; Poulin, minister of the foreign department; the Archbishop of Bourdeaux, keeper of the seals; the Archbishop of Vienné, minister for the bishoprics and abbies; and M. De Beauvais, was made one of the cabinet council.

Upon the appearance of Necker in the national assembly, he addressed the members in an eloquent speech; a few extracts from which we shall give, as specimens of sublime oratory: "The welfare of the state is now deposited in your hands: in you all the vigor of government, and all authority centres. This opulent and puissant metropolis, in which yourselves are citizens, hath totally entrusted itself to you; in your public virtue, and patriotism it has securely slept. O Patriotism! O more than Roman Patriotism! that could diffuse liberty over so vast an empire on the swift wings of fame, and give it equal swiftness. A short time will shew mankind your glorious intentions, and announce the splendor of your patriotism. Gentlemen, I have something to unbosom.

which, at present, I feel very oppressive on my heart. I conjure you, in the name of omnipotent mercy, that I may hear no more of proscriptions, of sanguinary scenes; surely those who are on the point of attaining liberty, that inestimable and divine blessing, will not pollute with blood, the hands that vindicate so pure, so celestial a claim. Your welfare centres in your integrity; your glory and your innocence; maintain, therefore, in the minutest points of your legislative proceedings, the highest veneration for the universal amiableness of the Gallic name. Ask your own hearts, if this amiablility of character, this goodness of soul, is not the brightest intellectual ornament?" Alas! we but darkly and imperfectly comprehend this sublime virtue, whose invisible efficacy from above, often directs, often determines our wills, without any merit of our own. God alone can explore the secrets of the heart, and apportion rewards and punishments adequate to vice and virtue. Man is totally incompetent for such investigation; and is, therefore, unjustifiable in depriving a fellow-creature of the life which heaven gave him, without the most minute and deliberate examination."

M. Necker then related an anecdote, respecting the arrest of his friend, the Baron de Bezenval, relative to a letter which he wrote in his carriage to the officers of Villeneaux, conjuring them to suffer that nobleman to retire to Switzerland, which was refused. Overpowered by his feelings, this illustrious man fell down upon his knees, and in that position closed his splendid oration, pleading energetically for the welfare of the Baron.

The minister then made another speech, soliciting a loan of thirty millions of livres. The assembly felt the absolute necessity of restoring public credit; the loan was agreed to, but the terms of the negotiation were changed. It was decreed, that no security should be given to the subscribers; that no term should be named for the rembursement, and that the interest should be fixed at only four and a half per cent. Three weeks had nearly elapsed after the loan had been decreed, and two millions six hundred thousand livres had only been subscribed; thus Necker found his financial project frustrated: the assembly were so engaged in forming the new constitution, that they paid but little attention to

the memorials of the minister on the subject of the finances.

At this period a report had been invidiously promulgated, that attempts had been made by some Englishmen to set fire to the dock-yard at *Brest;* in consequence of which, M. Montmorin, the secretary for foreign affairs, applied to the Duke of Dorset, the English ambassador, to make inquiry into the subject; which produced the following letter from his Grace:

Letter from the Duke of Dorset, Ambassador from England, to M. le Comte de Montmorin, Secretary of State for the Department of Foreign Affairs.

"Sir, Paris, *Aug.* 3, 1789.

"My court, to which I gave an account of the letter that I had the honour to write to your excellency on the 26th of July, and which you had the goodness to communicate to the national assembly, has, by a dispatch of the 31st ult. which I have received this instant, not only approved of my conduct, but specially authorized me to express again to you, in the most positive terms, the ardent desire of his Britannic Majesty, and his ministers, to cultivate and encourage the friendship and harmony which subsist so happily between the two nations.

"It is so much the more pleasant to me to announce to you these renewed assurances of harmony and good understanding, as it cannot fail but that the greatest good may result from a permanent friendship between the two nations. And that it is to be desired still the more, as nothing can contribute so much to the tranquillity of Europe, as the co-operation of these two powers.

"I shall be obliged to you to communicate to the president of the national assembly, this confirmation of the sentiments of the king and his ministers.

I have the honour to be, very sincerely,
Sir,
Your excellency's very humble
And obedient servant,
DORSET."

The great question of the constitution was introduced by M. Mouneir. He proposed some articles relative to the legislative power, which were referred to a committee. After long protracted debates, the following articles were agreed to:

"The supreme executive power resides exclusively in the hands of the king.

"All powers flow essentially from the nation, from which alone they can flow.

"The legislative power resides in the national assembly, who shall exercise it as follows:

"No act of the legislative body shall be considered as a law, if it is not made by the representatives of the nation, freely and legally elected; and if it is not sanctioned by the king.

"The judiciary power shall in no case be exercised by the king, nor the legislative body; but justice shall be administered in the name of the king only by the tribunals established by the law, according to the principle of the constitution, and according to the forms determined by the law."

To these articles the three following were added:

"1. The king may invite the national assembly to take any subject into consideration; but the proposal of all laws belongs exclusively to the representatives of the nation.

"2. The executive power, which cannot make any law, may, however, issue proclamations conformable to the laws in being, to command or exact the observance of them.

"3. The creation and suppression of all public offices shall be in consequence of an act of the legislative body, sanctioned by the king."

The following articles were agreed upon, relative to the legislative body:

"The legislative body should be composed of the representatives of the nation, a senate, and a king. The first chamber will be more calm in its deliberations; the second will correct its errors; and the king reciprocally keep both the senate and the representative body in proper bounds by means of each other.

"The chamber of representatives shall be composed of deputies, freely chosen in common, according to a proportion and order to be fixed hereafter.

" It shall be composed of not more than six hundred members; a greater number would be tumultuous, and lose much time.

" The age of representatives to be twenty-five, the age of majority in France.

" Representatives must possess a property in houses or lands.

" The senate shall be formed neither of clergy nor nobles, lest it awaken the *esprit de corps* extinguished by the patriotism of the nation.

" The number of its members not to exceed two hundred.

" Citizens of all classes to be admissible into it after the age of thirty-five.

" A certain number of senators to be chosen by the provinces, from which the king is to make a choice.

" The office of senator *not to be hereditary*, but for life.

" The voting of subsidies shall appertain exclusively to the chamber of representatives; the consent of the senate necesasy.

" The senate to be a tribunal for crimes of *leze nation*, on the impeachment of the commons.

" Acts of legislation may originate indifferently in either chamber.

" Acts proposed in one, must be ratified in the other chamber, and afterwards by the king, to whom alone the final sanction exclusively belongs, as the initiatory power does to the nation.

The following was the system of the legislative organization:

" The national assemblies to be permanent during each legislature, or session.

" The king's sanction not necessary for the constitution.

" The king's sanction for legislative acts for the future necessary.

" The duration of taxes limited.

" The legislative body to consist of two parts.

" Representatives to be freely elected: to be French, or natularized.

" The ministers and commissaries of the king not eligible.

" No procuration to be given for elections.

" An elector to have a year's settlement in the place where he votes.

" No one can vote in two places.

" The representative must have a settlement, and a real estate.

" France to be divided into equal districts, each containing about 150,000 souls.

" Each district shall have one deputy; as also every town that has the same population.

" There shall be as many *suppleans* as deputies.

" Convocation to be made by the municipal officers.

" Five electors for every thousand inhabitants; one for every two hundred in the village.

" No absolute orders to be given to the deputies, but instructions permitted for the general good.

" The assembly shall be held every year, on the first of December, and last four months.

" The same representatives shall continue three years.

" Every three years writs of election shall be sent in October, that the election may be finished before the first of December.

" In case of rebellion, or invasion, the assembly may be held sooner.

" The king shall dissolve the assemblies according to forms to be established; and may hold a royal sitting when he pleases.

" A tribunal of appeal shall be established instead of the arbitrary privy council.

" The king can project no law, but may send messages to either of the chambers.

" Pensions shall be fixed at the beginning of every reign.

" The form of the king's sanction shall be, 'His Majesty gives his Royal sanction.'

" The refusal of the sanction shall be, 'His Majesty will examine.'

" The laws shall be sanctioned thus: 'Made and confirmed in general assembly of the legislative body.'

" They shall be signed by the king, the president, and secretaries of each chamber."

Such was the political constitution prepared by the national assembly. The articles respecting religion, and

free toleration, were similar to those inserted in the Declaration of Rights.

The deranged state of the finances, had occasioned a voluntary subscription of patriotic contributions. The ladies of Paris were eminently conspicuous on this occasion, they emulated the conduct of the women of ancient Rome, when the Republic was in danger of its glory; all the splendid trappings of female dress were sacrificed to promote the prosperity of the country. The brilliant decorations of the toilette were deposited in caskets, and transmitted to the legislative assembly; bracelets were taken from the arm, necklaces from the neck; and earrings from the ears, as an auxiliary aid in this hour of financial distress. Necker could not rest satisfied with an expedient which, however excellent in calling forth the patriotic energy of the country, differed essentially from the plans he had proposed; he, therefore, addressed a memorial to the assembly on the subject, which was treated with indifference.

Although a number of decrees had been presented to the king, amongst which was the Declaration of Rights, yet he had not given his sanction to any one of them. The president of the assembly was ordered to wait upon Louis, with a list of those decrees, to recal them to his memory. The following were the legislative acts which thus remained non-effective.*

Art. 1. Equality of taxes to commence from the present moment.

2. The renunciation of all privileges for orders, cities, provinces, and individuals.

3. The redemption of all feudal rights.

4. Suppression of mortmain and personal servitude.

5. The produce of the redemption of the estates of the clergy to be applied to the augmentation of the salaries of the parish priests.

6. The abolition of the game-laws, and *capitaineries*, or privileges of rangers.

7. The abolition of seignorial jurisprudence, where courts of justice were on private estates.

8. The abolition of the venality or sale of offices.

9. Justice to be rendered gratuitously to the people.

* Perry's Sketch of the French Revolution. Vol. i. p. 210.

10. The abolition of privileged dove-cotes and warrens.

11. The exoneration from tythes and field rents.

12. An interdiction to create in future any rights of the same nature, or any other feudal rights whatever.

13. The abolition of the fees of parish priests, for births, marriages, or deaths, except in the cities.

14. A speedy augmentation of the benefices of parish priests.

15. The suppression of the *droits d'annates*, or first fruits.—The sum paid by France to the pope on this head amounted annually to 357,133l. sterling.

16. The admission of all ranks of citizens to civil and military employments.

17. The suppression of the duties of removal, paid by the parish priests to the bishops in certain provinces.

18. The suppression of corporations and wardenships.

19. The suppression of the plurality of livings.

The debates on the constitution, by which France was divided into eighty-three departments, and the national assembly limited to two years sitting, called forth the powers of the most celebrated French orators. On granting the suspensive *veto* to the king, Mirabeau, Barnave, and the Abbe Gregoiré, delivered their sentiments in a bold and expressive manner, while the Abbé Maury,† then a violent champion for the rights of the ecclesiastic power, thundered out his anathemas against any innovation which might be introduced to the detriment of the papal power.

Various causes operated to excite discontent in the metropolis, it offered nothing to the view, but wretched scenes of poverty. Louis had imprudently admitted to the royal palace at Versailles, the FLANDERS regiment; this was on the first of October. The regiment had just arrived, and though it had been customary for the *gardes du corps* to entertain any new regiment, yet, under existing circumstances, this etiquette ought to have been dispensed with. Had the king foreseen the consequences, he would not have permitted this military banquet to have been held in his palace. After dinner, the king and queen visited the company: on their appearance the music immediately played the favourite air, *O Richard!*

† Now Cardinal Maury.

O mon Roi! this was succeeded by loud acclamations of *Vive le Roi!* within and without the palace. In the effervescence of loyalty, the cockades were torn from the hats of the national guards, and trodden under foot. Intelligence of this event was soon transmitted to Paris, where, for the two following days, the populace began to exhibit symptoms of tumultuous discontent. On the fourth day after, which was Monday, five thousand women, armed with weapons, marched to Versailles, followed by the male population of the Fauxbourg St. Antoiné, and St. Marceau; the Marquis de la Fayette also repaired thither, with 20,000 of the city militia. The *gardes du corp*, or, the king's body guard, fired upon the Parisians, and a few women were killed. The Flanders regiment was ordered to assist in quelling the meeting, but they laid down their arms, and unanimously shouted, *Vive la nation!* and immediately went over to the malcontents. The *gardes du corp*, being thus abandoned, and overpowered by numbers, fled into the gardens and woods, where many of them were either killed or made prisoners.

Louis was engaged in hunting when this outrage occurred at his royal residence. Upon his return, being informed by the Prince of Luxembourg, of those scenes which had taken place; and whether he had any orders to give on the subject: "What! (replied he, with a smile,) do you wish me to give orders for a few turbulent women; surely you jest." The king and queen appeared at the windows of the palace; the latter with the Dauphin in her arms.

The commons were engaged in business at the Town-house, when the news arrived of the insurrection at Versailles; the magistrates of which place waited upon the king, and a proclamation was issued, requiring the inhabitants to afford, as far as possible, accommodation for the Parisians during the night. On the morning of the 6th of October, thousands of persons were parading the streets of Versailles, a multitude of whom had been forced to pass the night in the open air. Bitter sarcasms and exclamations were frequently addressed to the body guards; one of whom being irritated, levelled his piece and killed one of the Parisian multitude. This was the signal for exciting the renewed fury of the mob, who

broke into the palace, in pursuit of the guards. By the personal exertions of the king, queen, and La Fayette, tranquillity was for a time restored.

A report having been industriously spread, that it was the intention of the king and royal family, to escape to Metz, where the royal standard was to be hoisted, the populace, of a sudden, cried out, "The king to Paris!" Louis perceived there was no alternative: a refusal must have led to the most serious consequences, as the mob were not only infuriated with rage, but with liquor also, with which they had been plentifully supplied; there were also amongst the populace, many notorious demagogues in the disguise of women, who wished to carry things to the last extremity. It was unquestionably the prudent advice of La Fayette which guided the king in this affair. The king, with two of his ministers, and the queen, with the Dauphin, set off for Paris; they proceeded very slowly, the roads being lined with near 400,000 people. Louis was preceded by an executioner, between two ruffians besmeared with blood, each carrying a head on a pike. Upon his arrival at Paris, he and the royal family were conducted to the palace of the Thuilleries, where, in fact, they were little better than royal prisoners, existing in splendid misery.

During the tumult at Versailles, some of the insurgents rushed into the apartments of the queen, which was protected by three of the body guards, two of whom were sacrificed on the spot; the remaining one, named Miomandre, in the true spirit of ancient chivalry, nobly defended his royal mistress, and was the means of saving her life, nearly at the expence of his own.

M. Necker was unremitting in his attention to the amelioration of the national finances. He at this time presented a plan to the national assembly, in which he proposed converting the *Caisse d'Escompt* into a national bank; he also drew up a form, for inviting corporations, communities, &c. to carry their superfluous plate to the Mint; and again requested a donation of one hundred thousand livres. The clergy of France were at this time immensely rich, their annual revenue being estimated at 121,300,000 livres; exclusive of the order of Malta. The result of this proposition was, an animated debate in the assembly, relative to seizing the property of the church; which measure was strongly and eloquently sup-

ported by Mirabeau, Talleyrand, Peregord, Bishop of Autun, the Abbé Gregoire, and Petion; and opposed by the Archbishop of Aix, and the Abbé Maury. The assembly decreed, that all ecclesiastical property was at the disposal of the nation; and that the expences necessary for the decent maintenance of public worship, and the endowment of its ministers, should be viewed as a debt of the nation, the acquittance of which the assembly would ensure.

Another question of great importance which was agitated, related to the suppression of the *Religious Orders.* M. De la Rochefaucault, Petion, and Barnave, argued at great length for their abolition; and the appropriation of their funds to the public service: while the policy and justice of the measure was ably disputed by the Abbé Gregoire, M. Cayla de la Garde, and the Abbé Maury. The assembly, at length, decreed the abolition of all orders, and regular congregations, where solemn monastic vows were made; and that the individuals of either sex, in convents, should, upon quitting them, receive a suitable pension. Protests were made against these proceedings by the ecclesiastical chambers of the German princes, the clergy of Alsace, and chamber of the clergy at Strasburgh. Louis at this time sent a letter to the national assembly, declaring his intention of making his permanent residence at Paris; and inviting the assembly to remove and hold their sittings in that city; which being put to the vote, was carried in the affirmative.

M. Necker made another effort to induce the assembly to adopt his plan for the establishment of a *national bank.* He pourtrayed the lamentable situation of the country, as to its finances, in glowing colours; but he again experienced the cruel mortification of finding his luminous *Exposé* treated with marked indifference.

The capital was suffering daily in consequence of an alarming scarcity; which, whether real, or artificial, was equally distressing to the manufacturing poor, and the lower class of the inhabitants. Bread was sold at an enormous price; the populace goaded almost to madness by distress and hunger, entered the houses of the different bakers to search for flour. At the first house they searched, a quantity of flour was discovered, designed for the service of a religious community of females; no explanation could appease the tumult; the unfortunate

owner was dragged from his house, and hanged on the *Place de Greve*. In consequence of this outrage, martial law was proclaimed, and the bloody flag was hoisted at the arsenal, and carried through the streets eight days successively. Three persons implicated in the atrocious transaction were executed.

It was ascertained that some of the agents of government had been hoarding up flour, and Pierre Gondier, an agent, was convicted and executed, for having *hoarded up in his closet, loaves of bread to waste and spoil.*

At the close of this year, *M. Guillotin*, a physician, recommended to the assembly, of which he was a member, that all persons who should hereafter be condemned to suffer death, should be beheaded. He urged the benefit and use of a machine for that purpose, more expeditious in its effect, than the axe.† M. Guillotin's machine was ordered to be adopted, and his proposition decreed.

A society in London had been established for some years, in commemoration of the glorious revolution by King William the Third; Dr. Price,‡ a dissenting clergyman, and Earl Stanhope, transmitted from the revo-

† This machine was, many centuries since, made use of in Scotland, and denominated "The Maiden;" but the assembly denominated it, the *Guillotine*, in honor of the member who first introduced it to notice, in modern times. It is an erroneous opinion, that M. Guillotin was put to death by his own machine. He was alive in 1795.

‡ Dr. Richard Price, was son of the Rev. Mr. Price, who was for some time co-pastor with the learned and amiable Dr. Watts. He was minister for a long series of years to a congregation of Protestant Dissenters at Newington-green; from whence he removed to preside over the congregation of Dissenters at the Gravel-pit meeting-house, Hackney. Dr. Price embarked deeply in political speculation, and took an avowed part, both from the pulpit and the press, in favor of the emancipation of the American Colonies, from the authority of Great Britain. It was at the commencement of the war with America, that he published his celebrated treatise on "Civil Liberty." At the anniversary of the centenary of the Revolution, 1688, Dr. Price preached his famous sermon at the Old Jewry in which he hailed the Revolution then commencing in France, as a most auspicious event. It was this sermon which the Duke of Rochefaucault alluded to in his letter, and which was so severely animadverted upon by Mr. Burke, in his "Letters on the French Revolution." Dr. Price communicated to Mr. Pitt three plans for annihilating the national debt: the latter of which was adopted by the minister, but proved inefficient. Lord Stanhope opposed this plan, in a pamphlet, entitled, "Observations on Mr. Pitt's Plan for the Reduction of the National Debt." 4to. This eminent Divine was an excellent Theological writer. His Dissertations on Providence, Prayer, &c. and his Sermons, are works of singular merit. He wrote largely

lution society, to the Duke de Rochefaucault, the following letters:

From Dr. Price to the Duke of Rochefaucault.

Hackney, near London, the 9th of November, 1789.

"The address to the national assembly which is annexed to this, having been proposed by Dr. Price, he hopes that the Duke of Rochefaucault will not be displeased to learn that it was adopted with an ardour difficult to be described, by an assembly composed of the Earl Stanhope, of the Lord Mayor of London, of many members of the parliament of England, and of more than three hundred persons of distinction, assembled upon the occasion of the anniversary of the English revolution, in order to celebrate that event. If the expressions of their admiration, if the wishes of prosperity, which they request the Duke of Rochefaucault to present, should appear temerity on their part, they hope the national assembly of France, will yet excuse it as the effect of an effusion of zeal in the general cause of public liberty, that no apprehension of inconvenience could restrain. The representatives of the French nation labour for the universe as well as for France, and the whole world is interested in their success."

From Earl Stanhope to the Duke of Rochefaucault, the 6th of November, 1789.

"Sir,

"It is with great satisfaction that I have the honour of conveying to you, two unanimous resolutions of a society established in England to celebrate the famous Revolution of 1688: these motions were received with the most merited approbation and reiterated acclamations.

"Shall I venture, on the part of the society, to request you to present these resolutions to the national assembly of France. I entreat you, to believe me, with the greatest respect and sincere attachment,

"Sir, your's, &c.

"STANHOPE."

on the subject of Annuities, and reversionary Payments; and had a slight controversy with Dr. Priestley. He died 1791, and was interred in Bunhill-fields, Earl Stanhope, and Count Zenobio, with a great concourse of mourners, attending the funeral. Dr. Kippis delivered the funeral oration, and Dr. Priestley the sermon.

The Duke of Rochefaucault's Answer to Dr. Price.

" *Paris, December 2d,* 1789.

" It truly belonged to the illustrious apostle of liberty, Dr. Price, to propose a motion tending to offer up to liberty the most distinguished homage, *that of national prejudices.* The address of felicitation which Earl Stanhope has done the Duke of Rochefaucault the honour of transmitting to him, was received by the national assembly with the liveliest applauses; the assembly perceived in it the dawn of that beautiful day when two nations, which in spite of their political divisions, and the diversity of their governments, have always esteemed each other, will form a close and intimate connection founded on the similitude of their opinions, and supported by their common enthusiasm for liberty. The assembly has accordingly charged their president to write to Earl Stanhope. The Duke of Rochefaucault, happy to have been selected for this honourable commission, has with zeal given an account of it to the national assembly, and has made known to it the title, which a society, whose object is so noble and patriotic, has to the esteem of the French nation. He takes the liberty of requesting a copy of the doctor's sermon. Every thing that proceeds from his pen is precious; Doctor Price surely sees with satisfaction the principles of their common friend Mons. Turgot, propagated for the happiness of France and of the human race.

" The Duke of Rochefaucault has the honor of presenting his sincere compliments to Dr. Price. The national assembly having desired mention should be made in the letter of the president, to the Revolution Society, of England, of the desire of extinguishing that continental jealousy, which no longer becomes the free and enlightened."

The Archbishop of Aix, replied in the name of the assembly, to Lord Stanhope's letter.

1790. The popularity of the minister of finance, once the idol of the nation, was daily decreasing: his sincere and laborious exertions to save the state from a national bankruptcy, was treated with apathy; and there were not wanting persons who, lost to every prin-

ciple of honor and justice, dared to calumniate his virtuous character, and designate him as a secret enemy to the country. The poisoned arrows of these dangerous and insatiable archers, flew thick around him: the assembly itself had treated him with duplicity; had "paltered with him in a double sense; had kept the word of promise to his ear, and, broke it to his hope." § One of the members having alluded to the indefatigable toil of this member in the public service, another replied, "It is true, that the work of a minister, taking up money by loan, or other means, for the expences of government, is irksome; so is the work of the hangman; but the former is no more *compelled* to do it than the latter, they are both *matters* of *choice*, with this difference, that the former is best paid for the least painful effort."

Necker perceived the storm which was gathering over him, he heard the distant tempest roar; he had yet one duty which he viewed himself as bound to render to that country, from which he had experienced such black ingratitude. He hastened to the bar of the assembly, and there delivered another memorial, relative to the deranged state of the finances. Instead of acting upon plans specified in this memorial, the attention of the assembly was occupied in scrutinising the *Livre Rouge*, or Red-book. The Abbé Gouttes observed, there were pensions granted under the name of *Moonlight Gifts:* pensions paid out of the savings made on moonlight nights of the lamps at Paris.

In the distracted state of the metropolis at this time, it is no matter of surprise, that rumours of conspiracies, should be daily propagated. The Marquis de Favras was apprehended on suspicion of secretly raising a body of cavalry, for the express purpose of carrying off the king, the royal family, and the keeper of the seals. He was tried, and sentenced to be hanged on the *Place de Greve*, which sentence was executed a short time after.

Soon after this exercise of public justice on a distinguished individual, Louis repaired to the assembly, where he delivered a speech of great length, replete with sentiments of moderation, and confidence in the wisdom and rectitude of the legislative assembly. It was very favorably received, and the president returned a

§ Shakespear.

complimentary answer. The assembly proceeded to a discussion on the finances; when the various plans of M. Necker were rejected, and it was resolved, that the *Caisse d'Escompe*, should call in its own notes, and circulate in its stead, State Assignats.

The subject of the French East India Company, with respect to throwing open the trade, occupied the attention of the assembly next; when, after a full investigation, it was decreed, that the trade beyond the Cape of Good Hope was free to all Frenchmen.

The island of Corsica had been designated as an integral part of the empire of France. A meeting had been held at Bastia, in which it was resolved to send deputies to the national assembly; and the famous General Paoli, was requested to place himself at the head of the deputation. That venerable champion for liberty, addressed the president in a most eloquent speech; after which he took the civic oath. The king, in consequence of an expected rupture between Great Britain and Spain,‖ sent a message by M. Du Pin, minister of war, expressing the necessity of fulfilling the compact with Spain, by furnishing the necessary stipulated aid. This occasioned an inquiry into the right of the king to make peace or war. The debates on this most important question were peculiarly animated; and the celebrated Mirabeau, to the astonishment of the assembly, and all Paris, exerted all the powers of his splendid eloquence, in support of the royal prerogative. He was opposed by Barnave, who denied that any power, but that of the nation, could exercise this right. The assembly decreed as follows:

"1. That the right of making peace and war belongs exclusively to the nation; and that war cannot be determined on but by a decree of the national assembly, passed in consequence of a formal and necessary application on the part of the king, and sanctioned by him.

"2. That the care of watching over the external security of the realm, and of maintaining its rights and possessions, is delegated to the king by the constitution; and that he alone, therefore, is invested with authority to keep up foreign connections, to negociate treaties, to

‖ Relative to Nootka Sound.

appoint agents for such purposes, to make warlike preparations adequate to those of neighbouring states, to distribute the sea and land forces, and regulate their direction, in case of hostilities, as he should think most advisable.

" 3. That in case of impending or actual hostilities, of an ally to support, or a right to maintain by force of arms, the king shall be bound to notify it without delay, and to explain its causes and motives to the members of the legislature, who are immediately to be convened, should it happen during the recess.

" 4. That as soon as the measure is thus made known to the members of the legislature, if they judge that the hostilities entered upon are a criminal aggression on the part of the ministry, or of any other agent of the executive power, the author of the aggression shall be prosecuted for high treason against the state.

" 5. The assembly also declares, *That the French nation formally disclaims all wars from motives of ambition, or views of conquest; and engages never to employ her forces against the liberty of any other people.*

" 6. That on the before-mentioned notification, if the members of the legislature are of opinion that the war ought not to be carried on, the executive power shall be obliged to take measures immediately to stop or prevent hostilities—the ministers being responsible for delays.

" 7. That all declarations of war shall be made in these terms: *On the part of the King, in the name of the Nation.*

" 8. That during the entire course of the war, the legislative body may require the executive power to negociate a peace, and such requisition shall be strictly complied with.

" 9. That the instant the war ceases, the legislative body shall fix the time for reducing the troops to the peace establishment;—that the pay of the extraordinary forces shall be continued only till that period; after which, if they continue embodied, the ministry shall be responsible, and prosecuted for high treason against the state.

" 10. That it shall belong to the king to conclude and sign all conventions with foreign powers, which he shall judge necessary for the good of the state; but treaties of

peace, alliance, and commerce shall not be ratified without the sanction of the legislative body."

The general scarcity and poverty throughout the kingdom, occasioned not only riots, tumults, and insurrections; but, in various provinces, there were numerous armed banditti of robbers, who committed every species of outrage, pillaged houses, burnt chateaus, and spread terror wherever they appeared: this was especially the case in the central provinces of France, Nevernois, Bourbonnois, Berry, Marché, and the borders of Limousin.

Necker once more made his appearance before that assembly which had uniformly, of late, treated him and his propositions with such indifference. His memorial met with the fate of its predecessors. A circumstance now occurred which produced an uncommon sensation; all business was for a time suspended; the whole assembly was absorbed in grief, at intelligence given by Mirabeau, that Franklin was dead! The remains of this great philosopher had been deposited within the precincts of the cheerless tomb: Mirabeau announced this afflicting event in the following words:

"Dr. Franklin is dead! that truly great man, the ornament of philosophy, and of human nature, who made America free, who diffused the light of learning, and of virtue, throughout the universe, and for a participation of whose honours contending hemispheres urge their rival claims—Dr. Franklin is no more!

"Too long has court hypocrisy ordained public mournings for the death of those whose shadowy greatness is only to be found in their funeral orations. It is high time that the testimonies of national grief should be decreed by the representatives of the people, who ought never to put on the garb of sorrow, but at the decease of their real benefactors.

"Congress has ordered a general mourning for two months throughout all the United States; and America is now paying the just tribute of gratitude and respect to the great father of her constitution. Is it not highly becoming the wisdom and dignity of this house to concur in the same act of mournful solemnity?

"Antiquity would have erected altars to the man whose researches were ever directed to the most benevolent ends: who made the lightning of heaven and the

tyranny of earth obedient to his will; who taught the Americans to divert the fury of thunder, and to baffle the efforts of arbitrary power.

"Let the death of such a man be marked with justly merited distinction. Let us testify in a public manner our regret for this high-priest of freedom and philosophy. Let us shew at once our veneration for his merit, and our affliction at his decease, by passing a decree to go into mourning for three days on account of THE GREAT FRANKLIN."

The assembly decreed three days mourning for Dr. Franklin, agreeable to this motion.*

* BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, was born at Boston, in New England, 1706. He was destined by his father for the church; but his father recollecting, wisely, that persons so educated, were afterwards poorly provided for, he was called home to assist his father, who was a soap-boiler and tallow-chandler, in cutting the wicks, filling the moulds, carrying messages, &c.; such was the early menial employment of that great philosopher, who was afterward to make so great a figure on the theatre of the world. His inclination leading him to study, he was bound apprentice to his brother, a printer, at Boston. Having a dispute with his brother, he went to Philadelphia, and engaged himself with Keimer, a printer, who had been one of the French prophets, but designated by Dr. Franklin himself, as a "great knave at heart." Among the young companions of Franklin, was James Ralph, author of some poems, for which Pope gave him a place in the Dunciad; some political essays, and a continuation of Guthrie's History of England. In company with Ralph, Franklin crossed the Atlantic, and engaged himself to work for Palmer, a celebrated printer in Bartholomew Close, (who printed Wollaston's Religion of Nature delineated). While there he was introduced to Mr. Lyons, author of a treatise on the Infallibility of the human Judgment, Dr. Mandeville, author of the Fable of the Bees; Dr. Pemberton, editor of Sir Isaac Newton's works; and Sir Hans Sloane; to the latter of whom he presented a purse made of the Asbestos, which fire only purifies. From Palmer's he removed to Watts' printing-house, near Lincoln's-inn-fields; while there, Franklin lodged in Duke street, opposite the Roman Catholic chapel. In 1726, he left England for Philadelphia, where he again entered into the service of Keimer, but afterwards removed to Burlington, where Keimer had established a printing-office; but soon retired to Philadelphia, where he set up in business. Here he published an anonymous pamphlet, entitled, "An Inquiry into the Nature and Necessity of a Paper Currency." In 1730, he was married to Miss Read, of Philadelphia. In 1742, a society founded by him, was incorporated by the name of "The Library Company of Philadelphia."

Franklin now directed his pursuits to Natural Philosophy. Electricity was a science little explored; Gravesande and Desaguliers, had made some experiments, but it was reserved for Franklin, like Prometheus, to bring fire from heaven. In 1749, he first suggested his idea of explaining the phenomena of Thunder Gusts, and the Aurora Borealis, upon electrical principles. In 1752, he made trial of his electrical kite, which answered his most sanguine expectations. The practical

On June 29, the following memorable decree was passed by the national assembly:

"That, as hereditary nobility *cannot* subsist in a free state, the title of duke, earl, marquis, baron, &c. shall be abolished, and Frenchmen shall be only distinguished by their proper names, and those of their families.

"That coats of arms, and liveries, those shameful emblems of *pride* on the one hand, and *servility* on the other, shall in future be discontinued.

"That the words *my lord*, or *my lords*, shall never more be used in addresses to any individual or body of men whatever."

A comprehensive plan for a bond of general union was now proposed, to combine the interests of the king and the nation. It was resolved by the national assembly, that a solemn festival should take place, in commemora-

use Franklin made of his discoveries, was securing houses from injury by lightning, by pointed conductors. In 1745, he published an account of his new-invented Pennsylvania Fire-places; and in 1747, was appointed a Burgess of Philadelphia; and in 1753, Deputy Post-master General for the British Colonies. His philosophical discoveries had now made him famous throughout Europe: literary honors were conferred upon him in quick succession: he was admitted a fellow of the Royal Society of London; and created Doctor of Laws by the universities of Oxford, Edinburgh, and Glasgow. The disturbances produced in America, by Mr. Grenville's stamp act, occasioned Dr. Franklin to be called before the British House of Commons. The vehement language applied to him by the late Lord Rosslyn, when Solicitor General, had such an effect on his mind, that he became the determined foe of this country, once and for ever. While in England, Dr. Franklin suggested to the Rev. David Williams, founder of the literary fund, an idea relative to opening a place for divine worship on the general principles of natural religion; in consequence of which he opened the chapel in Margaret-street, Cavendish-square, upon that basis. When the American colonies had entered into a treaty with France, Franklin was appointed Ambassador at the court of Versailles.—This illustrious philosopher died April 17, 1790, aged 84. In a codicil to his will, was the following passage, "My fine crab-tree walking stick with a gold head, curiously wrought in the form of the cap of liberty, I give to my friend, and the friend of mankind, General Washington. If it were a sceptre he has merited it, and would become it." Franklin was not only a great natural philosopher, but a moral one also. He had a peculiar style of writing, pithy, laconic, and sententious; his words were "fitly spoken, like apples of gold in pictures of silver." As a fruitful source of juvenile instruction, his "Poor Richard's Almanack," and other preceptive pieces, will ever be held in admiration. Dr. Franklin wrote "Memoirs of his own Life, up to his marriage," which was continued by Dr. Stuber, of Philadelphia. The Congress ordered a mourning of two months for the decease of this illustrious sage.

tion of the great events which had recently taken place. The 4th of July was the day fixed upon, as being the anniversary of the destruction of the Bastille; the *Champ de Mars* was the place destined for the impressive ceremony. A vast amphitheatre was erected for the accommodation of spectators, subdivided into rows gradually ascending, which enclosed the arena, or pit; in the centre of which was raised a circular altar, the steps to which were constructed of stones taken from the Bastille. To this grand festival every district throughout France was required to send deputies; and the Monarch was himself to take an oath in the presence of his assembled subjects. The king, upon his arrival, took his seat in the centre of the amphitheatre, with the president of the national assembly at his right hand; and the deputies placed in order on each side; the queen, and the royal family, were in a splendid box at a distance. Besides the representatives of the nation, there were present all the military and naval bodies in the kingdom, and 300,000 spectators of both sexes. The king approached the altar, and repeated the solemn attestation prescribed by the assembly; the civic oath was then taken by every member of the senate.

While the greatest harmony had prevailed during the magnificent scene which the 4th of July presented, very serious disturbances took place soon after at Nancy, among the military. The Marquis de Bouille was the commander at that place; the officers of the army under his authority were, in general, inimical to the revolution; the privates had been long kept back from receiving the reward of their services; great dissension prevailed; the military chest was seized, and a deputation sent to Paris, to state their grievances to the national assembly; these grievances had been greatly increased by the conduct of the officers, who, by harsh discipline, hoped to bring the regiments over to their interests. Bouille was ordered to reduce the insurgents by force; he hastened to Nancy, and commenced an attack upon the regiments of *Chateau Veaux*, and *Mestredecamp*, when above five hundred were killed. This disastrous event filled all Paris with horror.

The sun of Necker was now set, never to rise again. He had been the country's boasted pride and darling glory! He who once had been viewed as the father and

saviour of the nation; whose name alone caused the sacred flame of patriotism to fire the bosom; and whose bust was beheld with a delight and admiration approximating to idolatry! He who had been the *lord* of the ascendant, in the political horizon, no longer shone in dazzling lustre. His situation had long been irksome to his feelings: the more he laboured to effect the regeneration of France, the more was he calumniated and despised. In his laborious financial exertions, there was always some demon at his elbow to pull him back; to thwart his projects; to disappoint his hopes. Maury, that hypocritical ecclesiastic, had even the audacity to move an impeachment against this great and virtuous minister. Colmer, a pettyfogging lawyer, also pretended to exhibit a charge; accusing Necker of suppressing six hundred million of livres in his account: the assembly had the ingratitude to sanction so vile a suspicion, by referring the affair to a committee of inquiry: the result was a most honorable confirmation of Necker's wisdom and integrity. The minister sent a letter of resignation to the assembly, in which he observed, "In withdrawing thus from public business, I must not conceal from you my intent on to give up all thoughts of ever returning to it. I mean, after the benefit of the waters, to seek the calm retreat, the sweet asylum from care, which I before quitted, in obedience to your orders. Your session will then be nearly at an end; and I feel myself totally inadequate to a new career of political toil."

Necker had proceeded on his journey to Switzerland, the country which gave him birth, when he was arrested at an inn in the town of *Arcis sur Aube*, though he had a passport from the king, and another from the municipality of Paris; he immediately dispatched a letter to the assembly, acquainting them with the circumstance. It was decreed by the legislature, that the minister should be no longer detained.*

* M. Necker was a native of Geneva. At an early period of his life he visited London, and had a commercial connection with the respectable house of Thellusion's. His financial abilities soon attracted notice, and recommended him to the court of Versailles. Although a protestant, and undisguised in the profession of his religion, he was raised to the high situation of minister of finance. After his resignation, he passed the residue of his life in retirement, enjoying the refined pleasures arising from literary pursuits, and philosophic study

The last act of the national assembly, was a tribute of gratitude to the memory of the philosopher of Geneva, J. J. Rousseau; Barrere was the enlightened member who introduced this motion with an elegant speech, in which he mentioned some circumstances relative to the widow of that illustrious genius. Barrere closed with moving, that an annuity of six hundred livres be granted to the widow of J. J. Rousseau. An amendment was prepared by another member, that a statue, in honor of the author of Emilius, and, the Social Compact, shall be erected with the following inscription: "LA NATION FRANCOIS LIBRE, *A J. J. Rousseau.* VITAM IMPENDERE VERO." "Maria Thereusa Levasseur, the widow of J. J. Rousseau, shall be maintained at the expence of the state; and an annuity of 1200 livres shall be granted to her out of the public treasury."

The civic oath for the clergy had not as yet been administered. The Abbé Gregoire was the first who took it. Talleyrand, Bishop of Autun, (now Prince Talleyrand) made some variations in taking the oath. The Rector of St. Sulpice, the richest living in Europe, refused it; as did twenty-two other rectors, at the expense of their livings. 1791.

In the month of February, the king sent a message to the assembly, containing information that his aunts, Madam Victoire, and Madam Adelaide, had left Paris; a decree was immediately passed by the legislature, greatly tending to abridge the royal authority:

"The king, who is the first servant of the public, ought to reside near the national assembly, when that body is sitting; when it is not sitting, he may reside in any part of the kingdom."

"Should the king leave the kingdom, and should he, after a proclamation issued by the legislative body, inviting him to return, refuse so to do, he should in that case be considered as having *abdicated* the government and his royalty."

The princesses were, however, permitted to proceed on

M. Necker, beside his "*Compte rendue a la Roi*," account of the finances, given to the king, published an admirable treatise on, "The Importance of Religious Opinions," an Essay on Fools, and other works. He died at his chateau, in Switzerland.--His daughter, the Baroness De Stael, has eminently distinguished herself in the republic of letters, by numerous productions of her pen.

their journey to Rome, the accredited place of their destination.

Mirabeau had for some time laboured under indisposition, which had precluded him from attending his duty in the legislative assembly. Bulletins were daily published, announcing the state of his health: his death was accelerated by want of proper attention to his case, and the application of imaginary, or presupposed, *remedies*, where *palliatives* were immediately required. His physician was probably unacquainted with his constitution.*

The president informed the assembly of this melancholy circumstance, upon which Barrere moved, that mention should be made of the regret which the assembly felt for the loss of that great man, by insertion in the minutes of that day's proceedings: and that some of the members should attend his funeral. The members exclaimed, "We will ALL attend it." Talleyrand, the Bishop of Autun, recited the opinion and sentiment of Mirabeau, relative to the laws of primogeniture, succession, and inheritance, which he had drawn up on his death-bed, purposely for the assembly; who adopted the following resolutions:

"That the new church of St. Genevieve, be destined to receive the ashes of great men, who have died since the æra of French liberty; with an exception in favor of such great men who died before that æra, as the legislative assembly shall deem worthy of that honor.

"That to the legislative assembly it shall exclusively belong to decide who are to be considered as the great men, entitled to the honor of a public monument in that church.

"That HONORIUS RIQUETTI MIRABEAU, be declared worthy of this honor.

"That until the church of St. Genevieve be completed, the body of Mirabeau be deposited in the old church of St. Genevieve, in the same vault with the remains of Descartes."†

The funeral of this illustrious statesman was magnificently awful: upwards of thirty thousand persons walked

* Letters from Paris, p. 72.

† René Descartes, a celebrated philosopher, was born at Touraine, 1556; he died 1650. His system of philosophy has been completely refuted by the Newtonian System.

in the procession, of whom ten thousand were national guards, under arms. The national assembly attended in a body; as also the municipalities of the district and department of Paris, and all the clubs of the capital. The body was carried alternately by members of the national assembly, and by the national guard. When the funeral service was concluded, the guards fired one volley, in the body of the church, which occasioned such a concussion as to shake the roof, and shatter many of the windows to pieces.*

The powers of Europe were not unconcerned spectators of what was taking place in France. In Germany, Spain, Italy, and Savoy, the aspect of affairs had an hostile appearance; the national assembly was alarmed, and an augmentation of the national force was decreed. The following resolutions were also voted:

"1. That the president shall immediately wait on the king, to request his majesty to put all the regiments which are on the frontiers upon the war establishment, and also to give orders that a supply of arms should be issued, both to the established troops and national guards.

"2. That every department in the kingdom shall furnish a corps of volunteer national guards, in the proportion of one to every twenty.

* Honorius Riquetti, Count Mirabeau, was born 1749. He was bred to the bar, by practising at which he acquired a high reputation by his forensic eloquence. Prior to the breaking out of the revolution, he had boldly attacked the despotic practice of the government, especially in his animadversions on "*Lettres de Cachet.*" He was one of that class of French literati designated, "Political Œconomists." His eloquence was calculated greatly to impress his auditors, and was accompanied with vehement gestures. Had he lived, he, probably, would have supported a monarchy against a republic, and have thrown his voice into the scale, to have made royalty predominant. Mirabeau was subject to a floating humor, which sometimes shewed itself in his eyes, and sometimes in his head: this humor was unfortunately locked up, and proved fatal. He was subject to violent passions; when he was greatly irritated, which was not unfrequently, his neck swelled till the sinews cracked with straining; at these moments it was impossible to approach him; and his servants all got out of his way: when his passion subsided, he became meek as a lamb. He died insolvent, and M. Frochot went to the national assembly to announce it, in quality of the executor of Mirabeau. His debts amounted to 550,000 livres. The house in which he lived, though in no respect magnificent, was visited by vast crowds of people from curiosity; and the street in which he lived was named after him. Mirabeau died aged 42.

" 3. That the volunteers, when chosen, are not to assemble nor name their officers, till the exigencies of the state require their services, which will be announced by order from the king.

" 4. That the king shall be requested to notify to Louis Joseph de Bourbon, formerly Prince of Condé, that his residence on the frontiers of the kingdom with suspected persons, indicates hostile designs.

" 5. That Louis Joseph de Bourbon Condé shall be required, within fifteen days after this notification, either to return to France, or remove from the frontiers; and in this latter case, he shall promise, under the guarantee of an oath, not to attempt any thing against the constitution, as decreed by the national assembly and confirmed by the king.

" 6. That in case Louis Joseph de Bourbon, heretofore Pince de Condé, shall disobey the orders which will be sent to him by the king, he shall be declared a REBEL, excluded from his right of succession to the throne, and be responsible for the consequences; that his estates shall be confiscated; that all correspondence between him or his adherents with French citizens, shall be prohibited under pain of being prosecuted and punished as traitors to their country; and that in case he shall hostilely enter the French territories, every citizen shall be at liberty to pursue, fall upon, and seize him, as well as his abettors and accomplices.

" 7. That every department, district, municipality, and court of justice, shall give information against all persons employed in levying troops, or in encouraging and facilitating the desertion of the French soldiers."

On the morning of the 22d of June, all Paris was in a state of alarm and consternation, by the sudden and unexpected flight of the king and the royal family, from the palace of the Thuilleries. A sewer was discovered under the Princess Elizabeth's apartment; by this being cleaned out, and covered with planks and sand, it was conjectured it was by this way the illustrious fugitives escaped. The news was no sooner communicated to the metropolis, than all the shops were closed, and the tocsin sounded. The assembly having met, it was decreed:

" That the minister of the home department should

dispatch couriers on all the roads, with orders to all the municipalities to arrest and stop every person going out of the kingdom.

"That all the ministers of state should be immediately brought to the bar of the assembly, to receive instructions, and give the necessary orders concerning the steps to be taken in the present critical situation of the empire."

All the ministers of state, with the exception of M. Montmorin attended. A decree was passed, authorizing the keeper of the seals, to put the seal of the state to all the acts of the legislature, without the king's command. The king, the queen, and the Dauphin escaped from the Thuilleries at different times, and at different doors. The queen went through the apartment of Madam de Rochefeuille, by the *Cour du Princes;* the king followed the queen and dauphin, and they all met in a garden near the wood of Boulogne, where they supped and proceeded to Bondy, the first post to Metz, by a circuitous road. Eight days before the royal flight, Louis rode to Montmartre, to reconnoitre the place.

La Fayette and Bailly were examined at the bar of the assembly, as to their knowledge of this extraordinary circumstance. It was then solemnly decreed, "That the assembly should not leave the hall till they had taken effectual measures for the public safety."

The national guard was immediately called into actual service. The assembly sat till midnight, and only suspended business for three hours. At ten o'clock the following night, while the assembly was busily employed in debating on the exigencies of the crisis, suddenly an immense multitude of voices were heard exclaiming, "He is taken! He is taken!" The senators rose from their seats, and for a few minutes all was wild confusion; order was at length restored, and silence being proclaimed, one of the secretaries recited aloud the following letter:

"M. President,

"In our present alarm and surprise, we authorize M. Mangin, surgeon, at Varennes, to go and inform the assembly, that the king is here; and to beg that they will point out the steps we are to pursue."

We shall now direct our attention to the royal fugitives, and the cause which led to their arrest at Varennes.

Louis was seized in his carriage, by the mayor of that place, through the great resemblance of his majesty to the royal portrait on the national paper. The fugitive monarch was caught most unfortunately, *en souri ciere*, or, in plain English, in a state of complete intoxication. Drouet, the mayor of Varennes, had never seen the king, but on a crown, or, an assignat; the resemblance on the latter was so great, that he exclaimed, "It is him! It is the very man!" Had Louis made the slightest effort on getting out of his carriage, he might have been enabled to reach the frontiers. The whole population of the city of Paris went out to meet the captive monarch, who, to use the emphatic words of a writer who witnessed the scene, "was brought back like a wild beast in a string, amidst the groans and hisses of an indignant populace."* The king, when stopped, made no resistance, but quietly ordered his coachman to turn his horses' heads back the same way that they came. He entered Paris with his three body guards on a coach-box, in a state of perfect freedom, neither chained nor tied. When asked how they should be disposed of? The king said, "Put them on the box." Monsieur and Madame, had separated from their brother and sister four hours before, and had taken the road to Mons, where they arrived the next night. The assembly acted with great magnanimity on this extraordinary occasion. To preclude any more riots and tumult, it was decreed, "That the revolution was complete." The suspension imposed upon the king was taken off.

Louis, previous to his flight, had left a declaration behind him, which was found in the palace at Versailles, and published by order of the assembly, with another proclamation, to counteract the effects which might be apprehended from its circulation. The united committees of constitution and criminal legislation, made a report with respect to the necessity of establishing an inquiry into the king's conduct. It was resolved, That three commissioners, from the national assembly, should be appointed to receive the declarations from the king and queen; the declarations to be taken separately from the lips of the king and queen, committed to writing, and signed by each, and the whole to be delivered to the

* Letters from Paris, p. 6.

assembly, that they may adopt such measures as they shall judge necessary.

From the commencement of the revolution there had existed a body of men, who had formed themselves into an associated club; which being held at a monastery, formerly occupied by the Jacobins, was denominated the *Jacobin Club*. This society consisted of the most desperate characters in France; a banditti of marauders and murderers of the human species. Men who bound themselves solemnly to annihilate monarchy, to extirpate christianity, and banish virtue and morality from the face of the earth. Many of the members of this detestable club had places in the legislative assembly; among whom was Maximilian Robespierre. In the debate which had lately taken place relative to the mode of procedure with the king, he objected to sending three commissioners to the king and queen; "A citizen (said he), male or female, a man, in whatever station, however elevated in dignity or rank, can never be degraded in the law: the queen is a citizen; the king, at this moment, is a citizen, accountable to the nation; and in quality of first public functionary, he ought to be amenable to the law."

The king and queen delivered their declarations as ordered, to the commissioners of the assembly, who were, Tronchet, Duport, and D'Andre. Louis asserted, that he left Paris, solely on account of the menaces and outrages he and his family were exposed to: he declared that he had no intention of leaving the kingdom. The queen, in her answer, stated, that the king being desirous of leaving Paris, she was in duty bound to accompany him. Louis, however, amended his declaration, by informing the deputies, that he had given orders to M. Bouille, to secure his route by armed detachments. This nobleman was a zealous, but a most intemperate and indiscreet adherent to his majesty. Mortified at the failure of the project for the king's escape, he sent a letter to the national assembly, full of invective, and fraught with menace; this letter was treated with marked contempt, only one member attempted to speak on the subject, when the assembly immediately recurred to the order of the day.

Every circumstance tended to accelerate the views and designs of the Jacobin faction, whose intrigues were

unfortunately too successful. A society had been established through the influence of that party, which was called, "The Society of the Friends of the Rights of Man and Citizen." The language of the petition presented by this society, so fully points out the rapid progress which jacobinism was now making, and differs so widely from any paper presented to that assembly, that we shall present it to our readers:

"Citizens, Representatives of the French people,

"In the year 1789, we were slaves;—in the year 1790 we thought ourselves free;—at the *end* of June, 1791, we *were free.*

"Legislators! you distributed the powers of the nation you represent; you invested Louis the Sixteenth with unlimited authority; you consecrated *tyranny* when you declared the KING permanent, inviolable, and hereditary; you established the *slavery* of Frenchmen, by declaring that France was a monarchy.

"The good citizens have trembled; different opinions have been started with vehemence, but the law existed, and it was our duty to obey; we rested our safety on the progressive state of philosophy. That pretended contract between a NATION who gives *every thing*, and an INDIVIDUAL who furnishes *nothing*, seems to be approved and supported; and till Louis XVI. had deceived us, and been ungrateful, we could only blame ourselves for having spoiled the work of our own hands.

"But the times are now changed. That *pretended* convention no longer exists of a people with their king; Louis abdicated royalty; henceforth Louis is nothing to us, unless he should become our enemy.

"We are now then exactly in the same state we were before the taking of the Bastille, *free*, and *without a king!* It remains to be known, whether it may be advantageous to appoint another."

Twelve persons carried this inflammatory address to the bar; it was signed by 250 persons. A member having denounced it as seditious, Petion and Dubois defended it, asserting, that the people had a right to recommend a change of government.

The political horizon now foreboded a tremendous storm; the cloud which, like that seen by Elijah's ser-

vant, on mount Carmel, no bigger than a "man's hand," had now "blackened the heavens." The few royalists who remained in France, were so situated as to be unable to render their sovereign any service, and were daily in terror of their lives and property being sacrificed by popular fury. In this emergency there was only one line of conduct to pursue, emigration. Exclusive of Monsieur, and the princes of the blood, the Duke of Orleans excepted, vast multitudes of the ex-nobles, and clergy, amongst whom were the Bishop of St. Pol de Leon, and other prelates, who had refused taking the civic oath, had fled their country. Some of these respectable refugees directed their course to fair Albion's isle, the pride and glory of the world. In a Protestant country, they found an honorable and peaceable asylum, secure from the rage of their enemies, in the full enjoyment of the exercise of their religion; and supported by the bounty and hospitality of the British nation, they lived in peace and happiness. Several religious communities of females were permitted to establish themselves in various parts of England.

The national assembly viewed with a jealous eye, the conduct of the emigrants, who were leaving France in numbers; carrying with them the property which they possessed. Upon the motion of Barrere, it was decreed:

"1st. That every Frenchman absent from the kingdom, who, in one month, to be reckoned from the publication of the present decree, shall not return into France, shall be subject to a triple tax for the year 1791.

"2d. That the committees shall present the form of a decree for the means of putting it in execution.

"3d. That the assembly reserves to themselves further measures in case of hostility or invasion."

The assembly now proceeded to discuss various topics relative to the king. The first was, his *inviolability*. Petion, one of the Jacobin faction, was decidedly of opinion, "That the king should take his trial, either before the national assembly, or before a commission specially appointed for that purpose,"

The Duke de Liancourt observed, "Either the king quitted Paris as *king*, or he quitted it as a *citizen*; if as *king*, he is *inviolable*: he cannot then be called to ac-

count; if as a *citizen*, he had a right to change his place of abode. It is Louis XVI. who is attacked; but the design is on the *monarchy*."

Robespierre, and Gregoiré, now the *constitutional* Bishop of Blois, were zealous opponents of the inviolability of the king. After many days' discussion, the assembly decreed, *That the person of the king was inviolable.*

The Jacobin club had used every stratagem to procure an ascendancy *over* the assembly, as well as *in* it, as to the decision of this important question; the galleries or tribunes were filled with the friends of that party; and when the decision was made known, the hall of assembly and the streets of Paris, resounded with bitter exclamations, sarcasms, and menaces against the legislative body. In the *Champ des Mars*, a vast multitude assembled, and drew up a series of resolutions, in which the king was characterised as a perjured person, a traitor, and a fugitive; and demanding his abdication of the throne: the crowds increasing, the national guards were called out to disperse the mob. M. Bailli, the mayor of Paris, repaired to the spot, and being urged by the members of the assembly, he ordered the military to fire, when several of the citizens were killed.

This event tended greatly to strengthen the jacobin party; and the assembly perceiving the unpopular nature of the decree which had passed, relative to the king's inviolability, passed an act of suspension of the royal prerogative; and another decree, importing, That if a king, after taking an oath to maintain the constitution, should retract, it should be viewed as abdication: or, if the king should put himself at the head of an army, to direct the forces against the nation, or give orders for that purpose, it should be viewed as abdication: and a king who thus abdicated the throne, should be brought to trial for every act subsequent to his abdication.

To calm the mind of the perturbed Parisians, various expedients were resorted to, in which there was to be a magnificent display of pomp and pageantry, to which the French were always so greatly attached. It was resolved by the national assembly, to pay extraordinary honors to the memory of Voltaire, because he had taken the lead in writing down the monastic orders, and endeavored to laugh the world out of religion. *Sunday*, the 10th of July, was impiously fixed upon for this cere-

mony. The following account of this absurd transaction is extracted from the work* of an author, who was present on the occasion: "I attended the pageant of the poet of *Ferney*, but it was spoilt, in a great measure, by a wet day; and owed much of its failure of success to the badness of the weather. The people were a little out of humor with the rain; the women said, the *Bon Dieu*, "the good God," was an *Aristocrat!* I cannot praise the triumphal car; as a machine, *à l'antique*, it was incorrectly conceived; as a piece of modern production, it was heavy and clumsy. The horses, twelve in number, were beautiful in the extreme; they were white, and eight of them came from the stables of Monsieur, the king's brother, and four from Beaumarchais. The figure of Voltaire, lying upon its back on the car, produced but a sorry effect, especially when, on account of the unevenness of the pavement it could not be kept steady; the right arm too was dislocated by the repeated joltings of the carriage, and hung down like the arm of a malefactor broken on the wheel. The show, nevertheless, gave universal satisfaction, and did not arrive at the cloister, where the body was to be interred, till after nine o'clock at night; I say the body, but more properly what was left of the body. It seems that VOLTAIRE had expressly desired, that a quantity of quicklime should be put into his coffin at his funeral; and when the coffin was opened at Romilly, in order to see what state he was in, they found him all consumed, and nothing left but a bone or two, perhaps, and the dust which blew into their eyes: they shut up the case, and reported the poet to be in excellent preservation." Several patriotic societies joined in the procession, and conducted the body to the spot where the Bastille once stood, which had been previously covered with groves of young trees, dispersed in the most picturesque and romantic manner; with the stones which composed the ruins of that fortress, a kind of rock-work was formed, and a flag placed on the summit exhibited the following motto:

* Letters from Paris, 1791, p. 106.

" *Recoit en ce lieu ou t'enchaina le despotisme,*
" *VOLTAIRE,*
" *Les honneurs que te rend la patrie !*"

" Voltaire, receive in this place, once the abode of despotism, the honors your country renders you."

In the procession were the workmen who were employed at the demolition of the Bastille, carrying the chains and instruments of torture found there. The busts of Rousseau and Mirabeau were also carried in triumph. An equestrian statue of the poet of *solid gold*, crowned with laurel, and men in antique dresses followed; as also a man carrying a gold casket, containing seventy volumes of his works. A deputation from the national assembly, the directory of the departments, the municipality, the court of appeal, the judges of the tribunals of Paris, the battalion of veterans, and a detachment of cavalry attended. The cavalcade stopped opposite the opera, where the bust of VOLTAIRE was covered with garlands. It was ordered that the family of the unfortunate Calas, who was broke on the wheel by order of the parliament of Thoulouse, should be placed at a window to view the procession. The body was deposited in the national Pantheon, on the side of Descartes and Mirabeau.*

* FRANCIS AROUET VOLTAIRE, was born at Paris, 1694. His father was treasurer of the chamber of accounts. When a boy, he composed some little pieces, evidencing the effusions of juvenile genius. *Ninon de L'Enclos*, famous for her beauty and her amours, was so much pleased with these productions of the young poet, that she left him a legacy of 2,000 livres, to buy him a library. He studied the law, but disgusted with the perplexities and embarrassments of the science of jurisprudence, he quitted it, to court acquaintance with the muses. His first efforts in poetry were, however, unfortunate, for in consequence of some satirical observations on the government, he was obliged to descend from the Parnassian mount, into the secret caverns of the Bastille. It was probably from this circumstance, that Voltaire imbibed that bitter hatred against the French monarchy, and legal order in general, which was developed in his writings. In 1718, his tragedy of Oedipus, was represented with great success; soon after which he visited England, where he finished his poem of the *Henriade;* an epic poem, founded on the history of Henry the fourth, called by the French, "The good King Henry." This work established his fame, and procured him immense sums of money. He was introduced to the company of Congreve and Addison, the latter of whom, though a great benefactor to Voltaire, he most scandalously and infamously calumniated. To the *English nation* Voltaire owed both his fame and his fortune: his fame, because he printed in England, that work which most tended to establish it;

The state of the public mind was far from being tranquilised in the department of *Le Vendée*; a disturbance arose in consequence of the news of the king's being arrested at Varennes. A number of priests and nobles resided in that department, who waited only for a favorable opportunity to declare in favor of their sovereign; these refugees had taken possession of some castles, which they fortified, but the revolutionary populace fired some of those fortresses, and numbers of persons were killed on both

his fortune, as the great sums he received in England, on his return to France, he placed in a lottery, in which he was very successful. In 1733, his Philosophical Letters, (a work of a most dangerous nature, in which all his artillery of wit was played off against Religion and religions establishments,) was burnt by order of the parliament of Paris, and a warrant was issued for apprehending him: he took refuge in the castle of Circy, on the borders of Champagne, the seat of the Marchioness du Chatelet; here he devoted himself to the study of philosophy; and composed his "Elements of the Newtonian Philosophy," and the tragedy of "Alzira." The tragedy of Mahomet was performed in 1741, and "Merope" in 1743. He was now appointed Historiographer of France; and in 1746, he was admitted a member of the academy of Sciences. The Royal Philosopher of "Sans Souci," having perused the writings of Voltaire, conceived a great attachment for him, and invited him to his court, where he remained a considerable time. Gratitude was unknown to Voltaire, it was a stranger to his bosom, his heart was base and malignant. Frederick had reason to repent noticing Voltaire, like the viper in the fable, he wounded his greatest benefactor; and had the meanness, in a scandalous lampoon, to ridicule a natural infirmity of Frederick's.

The literary jealousy of this poet was extreme, hence arose the insidious conduct which he exercised to the illustrious Rousseau. Voltaire greatly interested himself in the affair of Calas, who was broken on the wheel, for being supposed accessary to the death of his son, Mark Anthony. He was the means of having the sentence of the parliament of Thoulouse reversed. In 1778, he visited Paris, where he wrote a tragedy, called, "Irene." Though on the verge of the grave, his vanity was such, as to suffer himself to be crowned in public with laurel! He died the same year in Paris, aged 85. The enmity of this celebrated writer against divine revelation, was of the most implacable nature; he wished to annihilate both the Jewish and the Christian Religion; he was ever writing, and ever speaking, against Moses and against Christ. He had always at his table an apostate monk, (father Adam,) who was always made the medium of his introducing his profane and impious sarcasms. The Rev. Martin Sherlock, who visited him at Ferney, has observed, in his "Letters of an English Traveller," that his conversation, was of the most disgusting nature, and his vanity insupportable. Of the immense multitude of works which he published, there are few in which he has not insidiously interwoven objections against Christianity. He was the most dexterous of the sharp-shooters of infidelity. One volume of Voltaire has been of greater service to Deism, than all the writings of Hobbes, Hume, and Bolingbroke. His attack upon Shakespear was refuted, in a most logical manner, by the late Mr. Montagu.

sides. Upon hearing of these commotions, the assembly ordered that two commissioners should be sent to the department of Vendée, to receive information as to the causes from whence they had arisen, and to consider of the best means to be adopted for restoring order.

The national assembly had seen, with great concern, the proceedings of the court of Vienna. The diet of Ratisbon, had requested the emperor to make use of those means which should be best calculated to obtain restitution, or indemnification, for the loss which the ecclesiastical, and other princes of the empire, had sustained by the revolution in France. The Bishop of Basle, one of those princes, had permitted six thousand German troops to march into Pourentus. The assembly sent commissioners to examine into the state of the frontiers on the north. Two votes were unanimously passed; one for raising 26,000 troops, and another for raisng 97,000 more for the garrison towns, and camps on the northern frontiers.

The assembly now hastened to complete the *new constitution*, it was finished September 3, and presented to the king on the same day; who was attended by all the ministers, and many other persons. M. Thouret addressed him in the following words:

"Sire, the representatives of the nation are come to offer for the acceptation of your majesty the constitutional act which consecrates the imprescriptible rights of the French people, supports the true dignity of the throne, and regenerates the government of the empire."

The King's Answer.

"Gentlemen,

"I will examine the constitution which the national assembly has ordered you to present to me; I will communicate my resolution to them in the shortest time possible, which the examination of so important an object requires. I have resolved to remain in Paris, and I shall send the commandant general of the national Parisian guard, the orders which I may judge necessary for the service of my guard."

On September 13, the king sent a message to the national assembly, declaring his acceptance of the constitution. On the following day, the king went to the

assembly, to accept the constitution, and sign it; the members stood till he was seated; but as soon as he got up to read his acceptance of the constitution, they sat down. The king thus addressed the assembly:

"GENTLEMEN,

"I am come solemnly to confirm the acceptance which I yesterday gave to the constitutional act. *I swear to be faithful to the nation, and to the laws*, and to put into execution, by every means in my power, the constitution decreed by the national assembly, and accepted by me.

"May this great and memorable epoch be that of the re-establishment of peace and union, and become the pledge of the welfare of the people, and of the prosperity of the empire!"

When the king had finished, he looked round and saw every body seated, but M. Malonet; upon which the king took his seat as one of the house: this mark of condescension lost nothing of its effect on the assembly, who were loud and incessant in applauses. The president then rose, and bowing to the king, sat down again, and read his speech. As soon as his majesty had signed, the president told him, That through the suppression of abuses, the empire had been re-established upon the most solid basis, by the national assembly; that the nation at large had rectified what the assembly had decreed; that even those persons who were blinded, by subsisting prejudice and past persecution, became the unwilling hearers of the truth that he had advanced, "The attachment of the people, Sire, is the safeguard of royalty; but the chiefest support of the fairest crown in the universe, is the necessity of an hereditary monarchy for the government of a great nation."

An universal *fête* was ordered to celebrate the happy restoration of royal liberty, and the completion of the constitution, on September 25. A French ode was composed, set to music, and executed by the royal band, on the altar of the nation, in the *Champ de Mars*. The king, the queen, and dauphin, attended by the Marquis de la Fayette, and the royal guards attended, and were received with loud acclamations. The expense of lighting the Thuilleries, and the Elysian-fields, was defrayed by the king, and charged to the civil list, at his

express desire. The king and queen went the next day to the opera, on the *Boulevards*, and were welcomed with shouts of applause; the torches of the Dæmons in Castor, and Pollux, illuminated the king's box, and brought forward the royal figures, as it were, from the picture.

M. Malouet had demanded of the national assembly all monies that had been expended since its establishment; he was supported by the Abbé Maury. The assembly denied that it was any way accountable for the money as an administrative body, as the cash had not passed through its hands. Malouet accused the committee of finance, the minister, and the academy of sciences, of gross ignorance in this matter; upon which M. Lameth, one of the members, exclaimed, "If the committee, the commissioners, the minister, and the academy of sciences, are ignorant, there is none but the Eternal Father who can enlighten us: let us press to the order of the day."† The Abbé Maury, was driven from the tribune, and silenced by official authority.

The assembly before its dissolution, had altered the decree, respecting the removal of the body of Rousseau, from the isle of Poplars, at Ermenonville, the seat of the Marquis de Gerardin, to the Pantheon. A monument only was ordered to be erected in the Pantheon, to the memory of the author of "The Social Contract."‡

† Letters from Paris, p. 287.

‡ John James Rousseau, was the son of a watchmaker, at Geneva, and was born in 1712. The early events of his life he has himself narrated, in his "Confessions;" a work published after his decease. The academy of Dijon, having proposed a question relative to the utility of the Arts and Sciences, Rousseau published an Essay, abounding with eloquence, in which he adopted the thesis of the famous *Agrippa*, and endeavoured to prove, that the sciences were injurious to the prosperity and happiness of mankind. The prize was decreed to him by the academy, and his name became known throughout Europe. The illustrious, but unfortunate, Stanislaus, king of Poland, drew his pen, and entered the list with Rousseau. His next work was, "A Dissertation on the Inequality of Mankind," which he dedicated to the Lords of the Republic of Geneva. It having been proposed to introduce a theatre into Geneva, Rosseau published his "Letter to M. D'Alembert," a masterly production, replete with brilliancy of thought, and elegance of expression. A small, but beautiful piece, called, "The Village Conjurer," was performed at the theatres at Paris, with great applause; he also composed another dramatic piece, "Narcissus, or the Self-admirer;" a poem, called, "Sylvia's Walk," and "Pygmalion." He had now acquired a just and merited celebrity. The publication of his

On the 1st of October, the new legislature held their first sitting; the only person remaining of the first na-

"Emile, or, a Treatise on Education," excited an unusual clamor. In this work, in the confession of the Savoyard Friar, the author had introduced some objections against the prophecies, and the miracles, on which Christianity is founded; at the same time, with the most splendid eloquence, eulogising the Divine Founder of the Christian Religion, in that universally admired comparison, between Christ and Socrates. Christopher Beaumont, Archbishop of Paris, interdicted this work, in a pastoral letter to the clergy of his diocese, and the book was ordered by the parliament to be burnt by the common hangman: Rousseau being menaced with punishment, fled to his native city, Geneva; here he published his expostulatory "Letter to the Archbishop of Paris." The celebrity of Rousseau had drawn upon him the indignant jealousy of Voltaire, and through the influence of *Tronchin*, the physician, the intimate friend of Voltaire, a persecution was raised against him, which obliged him to take refuge at Motier Travers, under the immediate protection of Frederick the Great, and the friendship of George Keith, Lord Marshal of Scotland. In this retirement he for some time enjoyed repose, and joined in worship with his Protestant brethren; but the publication of his "Letters from the Mountains," in which he had especially attacked the miracles recorded in the Gospel, raised him a host of enemies; at the head of whom was M. De Montmollin, the pastor of the village. Through the recommendation of Marshal Keith, David Hume was induced to offer him an asylum in England, which was accepted, and Rousseau was invited to the seat of Mr. Davenport, in the most rural and secluded part of Derbyshire. He afterwards was removed to Wotton, in Surry; and in his visits to the metropolis more than once dined with the Rev. Mr. Penneck, late of the British Museum, and rector of St. John's, Horsleydown.‡ He at this time appeared in the Armenian dress, with a fur cap. A pension was already proposed to be granted to him, to which his present Majesty most graciously acceded; and Rousseau had every prospect of passing the residue of his days in ease and comfort, when a singular incident occasioned him to leave England, never to return. Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford, in conjunction with David Hume, who was jealous of the splendid talents of his "*protegé*," inserted in the St. James's Chronicle, a letter, purporting to be from Frederick the Great, upbraiding him with ingratitude, and demanding an immediate return to his dominions. Rousseau's temper was very irritable, upon discovering the forgery, he immediately left England, with a deep sense of the supposed injury he had received. He afterward received an invitation from Count Orloff, to reside in Russia, which he declined; but in 1776, accepted of the invitation of the Marquis de Girardin, to reside with him and the Marchioness, at their seat at Ermenonville, near Chantilly, the hunting seat of the Prince of Condé. In the sweet embowered shades of Ermenonville, did this celebrated philosopher pass the remainder of his life. He died of a serous apoplexy, July 2, 1778, aged 66. His body was deposited in a small spot, in the middle of a lake, called, "The Isle of Poplars," belonging to the Marquis de Girardin, with various appropriate and elegant inscriptions on his monument.

Rousseau was unexampled as a writer for an irresistible charm of expression; his language was that of nature, adorned by the Graces. His *Nouville Heloise*, is a novel of singular excellence in point of com-

‡ Communicated to the author by the late Mr. Penneck.

tional assembly was, M. Camus, keeper of the archives of the legislature. The assembly declared itself a national legislative assembly, and each of the members arose spontaneously, and pronounced, with enthusiastic energy, the oath, *to live free or die*. On October 7, the king opened the new assembly with a speech, in which he recommended unanimity and confidence, between the legislative and executive powers.

The emigration of the nobles and ecclesiastics, in consequence of passing events, was carried to a greater extent than ever; most of the ex-nobles, and princes of the blood had assembled at Cobletz. Louis issued a proclamation, requesting those who had emigrated to return home. The princes circulated in France, a counter-proclamation, or protest, in which it was asserted, that it was impossible, under existing circumstances, that the actions of the king could be free. In this proclamation was the following passage:

"We protest for the king, and in his name, against what can only bear a false impression. His voice being stilled by oppression, we will be its necessary organs; and we express his real sentiments as they exist in the oath of his accession to the throne; as they have appeared in the actions of his whole life, as they have been displayed in the declaration which he made at the first moment that he believed himself free. He neither can nor ought to have any other, and his will exists only in those acts where it breathes freely."

M. Brissot, in an inflammatory harangue, denounced the fugitive princes, and even threatened those powers in whose states they had taken refuge, with the resentment of the French nation. Decrees of the most severe and rigid nature were issued against the emigrant princes, nobles, and ecclesiastics. Louis had the firmness to refuse giving his veto, or sanction, to these decrees.

It is evident that the different crowned heads of Eu-

positson. The "Social Contract," developes many dangerous paradoxes. The late eminent Dr. Blair, in his Lectures on Rhetoric, and the Belles Lettres, has given a just analysis of the "New Eloisa,' of this writer. The Baroness De Stahl, observes of Rousseau, "His actions were sometimes mean, but his sentiments always sublime." The best delineation of the character of Rousseau, is given by Dr. *Beattie*, in his Essay on Truth.

rope had, for a considerable time, suspected that the progress of the French revolution would, probably, tend to the subversion of that monarchy, and the annihilation of legal order; the consequences of which might effect, at a future period, an unpleasing change in the form and constitution of their governments.

It has been related of his present Majesty, that upon the changing of the constitution of France, he observed, "If the French go on at this rate, in the course of a few years there will not be a crowned head in Europe."

Leopold, emperor of Germany, and the king of Prussia, in consequence of the transactions which had recently occurred, made a convention at *Pilnitz*, in Saxony, when a treaty was formed, which was afterwards acceded to by other powers. The new constitution having been announced to the different states of Europe, the answers to the letters sent on that occasion, and which were read to the assembly, were of a pacific, but, in some instances, of an ambiguous nature. A change of ministers now took place in the cabinet; M. Delessart succeeded Montmorin; M. Narbonne was made war minister; and Petion, a chief member of the Jacobin club, was elected mayor of Paris.

Soon after the meeting of the new legislative assembly, the Whig Club of England, sent a congratulatory address, with the following resolutions:

"Resolved, That the society approves of the French revolution, and the fundamental principles from which the national assembly formed the constitution.

"Resolved, That the society shall felicitate the national assembly, the king, and the nation, on the acceptance of the constitution by the *king of the French*.

Resolved, That the society shall present their thanks to the constituent assembly, on the sublime and disinterested patriotism evinced in establishing and maintaining, to the moment of their separation, the principles of the constitution; a work of wisdom and integrity—the basis of liberty—the annihilation of aristocracy, and the general emancipation of an hospitable, generous, and brave people.

"Resolved, by us, all constitutional Whigs, sons of freedom, that if one or more despotic powers, whoever they be, should make any attempt to enslave the French

people, or even to infringe on the liberty they now enjoy, our lives, or fortunes, shall be employed in repelling their efforts, even to the total destruction of slavery, and the extirpation of tyranny."

The attention of the assembly was now directed to the disorganised state of St. Domingo; Blanchelande, the governor, was denounced by Brissot; he was ordered to be placed under arrest, as being guilty of counter-revolutionary practices.

Notwithstanding the pacific nature of the notifications from the principal courts of Europe, a storm was now arising, which threatened the existence of the new order of things in France. It will be essential to take a brief review of the situation of parties in France; and of the disposition of the continental powers towards it. The members of the new assembly were, with a very few exceptions, determined Republicans; they viewed even the *nominal power* of the king with disgust; at the head of this party was Brissot. This man possessed great intellectual powers, but was a decided enemy to monarchical government. He had made the tour of the United States of America, and from studying the American constitution, he became inflexibly attached to a federal system of government. The party who enlisted under the banners of Brissot, were denominated sometimes Brissotines, and sometimes the Girondists, in compliment to *Guadet*, late president of the criminal court of Gironde, who had joined the party of Brissot. In opposition to the partisans of Brissot, were the members of the Jacobin club, who hitherto had acted in perfect unison with the former party, but had obtained a great accession of strength in the assembly, this desperate faction was sometimes designated as the Jacobin party, from the name of the club to which they belonged; and sometimes the Mountain, from the members being seated in an elevated part of the assembly; Robespierre, Marat, and Danton, were the chief leaders. The ultimate design of this faction was to destroy all legal order, establish an agrarian law, and a general equality. The king was left at the mercy of those republicans and demagogues, who predominated in the new assembly, every proceeding of which tended to weaken the little authority he yet possessed.

The views of the continental powers were directed to

these alarming circumstances, and the presence of the emigrant princes must naturally have excited sentiments of a nature not very favorable to the interests of the French nation. We have already seen that, with great political sagacity, Germany and Prussia had forearmed themselves against any disadvantageous circumstances which might hereafter arise. Spain was bound, by family compact, to support the interest of Louis; and from the despotism of its government, to be tremblingly alive to the changes which were daily taking place in France. Count Bernstoff, at this time the minister at Copenhagen, advised his royal master to remain entirely neutral, with respect to the abridgment of the authority of the French monarch. Another power of the north, Sweden, was disposed to take an important interest in the affairs of France, had not Gustavus the Third, been prematurely deprived of his existence by the regicide Ankerstrom. But Catharine, the magnanimous successor of Peter the Great, emperor of Russia, beheld, with lively concern, the progress of the revolution; and, with eagle-eyed penetration, foresaw the overthrow of the French monarchy, and with it, an attack upon the other nations of Europe.

The court of St. James's was peculiarly cautious in the answer transmitted to the French minister for foreign affairs. Mr. Pitt was at the helm of affairs, and Lord Grenville, (his relation,) was the secretary of state for the foreign department. The subject of the French revolution had produced a powerful sensation in England. It had frequently been adverted to in parliament, by the members in opposition to the ministry, in very warm and emphatic language. The British cabinet, while it duly noticed the notification of the king; evidenced, in the answer transmitted by Lord Grenville, that it viewed him as being under restraint, and divested of his royal prerogative.

The emperor of Germany's sentiments were fully developed in the following state paper, dated November 30, addressed to the Empress of Russia, which was communicated to the assembly:

"*Vienna, November* 30.

"In consequence of the orders of his court, the undersigned envoy extraordinary, has the honor to declare officially, in the name of the king, his master, to the im-

perial ministry, that his majesty agrees with her imperial majesty of Russia, and his catholic majesty, in the same sentiments, for the re-establishment of the French monarchy; that like them, the king views his most christian majesty, as in a state of captivity, in spite of the acceptation he had made; that uniting in these principles, and in the conduct of the empress of Russia, his majesty has sent the Baron de Oxenstiern to the French princes; and that he is resolved, in concert with the courts of Petersburgh and Madrid, to act so as to answer the exigence of the case respecting the royal house and the kingdom of France.

Signed,

"LE BARON DE NOLEKEN."

In December, the king went to the assembly, to announce the measures he had pursued for dispersing the French emigrants in some of the German electorates. The speech was as follows:

"Gentlemen,

"I have taken your message, of the 29th of last month, into mature consideration. In a case that involves the honor of the French people, and the safety of the empire, I thought it my duty to be myself the bearer of my answer. The nation cannot but applaud these communications between its elected and its hereditary representatives.

"Gentlemen, you have invited me to take decisive measures, in order to effect a cessation of those external assemblages which keep up a hateful disquietude and fermentation in the bosom of France, which render an oppressive augmentation of expence necessary; and expose liberty to a greater danger than an open and declared war. You desire me to cause declarations to be made to the neighbouring princes, who, contrary to the rules of good neighbourhood, and the principles of the law of nations, protect these assemblages; that the nation can no longer suffer this want of respect, and these sources of hostility. Finally, you have given me to understand, that one general emotion is felt by the nation, and that the cry of all the French is for war, in preference to a ruinous and degrading patience.

"Gentlemen, I have long thought that our circumstances required great circumspection in our measures;

that having scarcely yet weathered the agitations and the storms of a revolution, and the first essays of an infant constitution, no means ought to be neglected that could preserve France from the incalculable evils of war; these means I have always employed. On the *one* hand, I have done every thing to recal the French emigrants to the bosom of their country, and induce them to submit to the new laws which a great majority of the nation has adopted; on the other, I have employed amicable intimations; I have caused formal and precise requisitions to be made, to divert the neighbouring princes from giving them a support calculated to flatter their hopes, and encourage them in their rash design.

"The emperor has done all that was to be expected from a faithful ally, by forbidding and dispersing all assemblages within his state.

"My measures at the courts of other princes have not been equally successful. Unaccommodating answers have been given to my requisitions.

"I have caused a declaration to be made to the elector of Treves, that if, before the 15th of January, he does not put a stop within his states to all collecting of troops, and all hostile dispositions on the part of the French, who have taken refuge in them, I shall consider him as the enemy of France. I shall cause similar declarations to be made to all who favor assemblages contrary to the tranquillity of the kingdom: and by securing to foreigners all the protection which they ought to expect from our laws, I shall have a right to demand a speedy and complete separation of all the injuries which Frenchmen may have received.

"I have written to the emperor, to engage him to continue his good offices; and, if necessary, to exert his authority, as head of the empire, to avert the evils which the obstinacy of certain members of the Germanic body, if longer persisted in, cannot fail to occasion. Much may, undoubtedly, be expected from his interposition, supported by the powerful influence of his example; but I am, at the same time, making the most proper military arrangements, to render these declarations respected.

"And if they shall not be attended to, then, gentlemen, it will only remain for me to propose war; war, which a people that has solemnly renounced conquest

never makes without necessity: but which a nation, happy and free, knows how to undertake, when its own safety, or when honor commands.

"But in courageously abandoning ourselves to this resolution, let us hasten to employ the only means that can insure its success. Turn your attention, gentlemen, to the state of the finances; confirm the national credit; watch over the public fortune. Let your deliberations be always governed by constitutional principles, take a grand, high-spirited, and authoritative course, the only one that befits the legislators of a great empire. Let the constituted powers respect themselves, in order to be respected; let them give mutual aid, instead of mutual impediment; and finally, let it appear, that they are distinct, but not enemies. It is time to show to foreign nations, that the French people, their representatives, and their king, are but one.

"It is to this union, and also, let us never forget it, to the respect we pay to the government of other states, that the safety, the consideration, and the glory of the empire are attached.

"For me, gentlemen, it would be in vain to endeavour to surround with disgust the exercise of the authority which is confided to me. In the face of all France I declare that nothing shall weary my perseverance, or relax my efforts. It shall not be owing to me, that the law does not become the protection of the citizen, and the terror of the disturber. I shall faithfully preserve the deposit of the constitution, and no consideration shall determine me to suffer it to be infringed.

"If men, who wish only for disorder and trouble, take occasion from this firmness, to calumniate my intentions, I will not stoop to repel by words the injurious suspicions they may choose to circulate. Those, who watch the progress of government with an attentive, but unprejudiced eye, must see, that I never depart from the constitutional line, and that I feel profoundly how glorious it is to be the king of a free people."

The minister at war informed the assembly, that by the king's command orders had been given for assembling 150,000 men on the frontiers, to be formed into three armies, under the command of generals Rochambeau, Luckner, and La Fayette.

We are now entering upon what we may denominate the *preliminary* year of the wars of the French revolution, for though hostilities actually took place this year, the wars which embroiled all Europe, and more especially Great Britain, did not take place till *after* the decapitation of the French monarch, the *period* to which *our introduction is limited.* 1792.

The official declaration of the emperor Leopold to the empress of Russia, had been carefully concealed from the national assembly by the ministers of Louis; but it was privately circulated in Paris. M. Herault de Schelles moved the following resolutions in consequence.

"The king shall, by a message, be requested, to declare to the emperor, that he cannot hereafter treat with him, but in the name of the French nation, and in virtue of the powers delegated to him by its constituents.

"The king shall be requested to ask the emperor, whether, as the head of the house of Austria, he intends to live in peace and good understanding with the French nation; and if he renounces all treaties and conventions directed against the sovereignty and independence of the nation?

"The king shall be required to declare to the emperor, that in case he shall, before the first day of May next, fail to give full and entire satisfaction upon all the points above stated, his silence, as well as every evasive, or dilatory answer, will be considered as a declaration of war.

"The king shall be entreated to adopt the most efficacious measures to put the troops in a state to act upon the first orders they may receive.

"The national assembly enjoins its diplomatic committee to present, as soon as possible, a report on the treaty of Versailles, of 1756."

A decree was also passed against Louis Stanislaus Xavier, the eldest of the princes of the blood royal, excluding him from the crown, in case of his refusal to return to France; this measure unquestionably emanated from the execrable Orleans, who had now linked himself with the Jacobin faction. Numerous riots and insurrections took place in various of the departments, on account of the scarcity, and consequent high price of corn. At Estampes, the mayor was killed by the populace, who fixed the price of corn, holding a sword in one hand, and

a cord in the other. At Aix, the military were obliged to be called in; the spirit of insubordination pervaded even the metropolis; a large storehouse in the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, was burnt to the ground: Petion, the mayor of Paris, appeared at the bar of the assembly, stating that the people had appeared in a state of agitation for several days, on account of the high price of sugars.

The minister, Delessart, had long been suspected: he was impeached, and sent to Orleans to be tried by the high tribunal at that place; and he was executed in consequence of sentence passed upon him.

The emperor Leopold died on March 1, of an inflammation of the lungs; he was succeeded by his son, Francis the Second, now emperor of Germany: the new sovereign, appeared fully disposed to follow the same line of policy as his father had pursued, with respect to France. M. Dumouriez had succeeded Delessart, as war minister: he was an able politician, and persuaded the cabinet to adopt the most vigorous measures. Louis repaired to the assembly, to lay before it the decision of his council, which was for war; and the assembly, by a great majority, voted the following Declaration of War, against the king of Bohemia and Hungary:

"The national assembly, considering that the house of Austria, in defiance of the treaties which subsist between it and France, has given protection to the French rebels who have emigrated into Germany; that it has formed a league with the other powers of Europe against the liberty and the independence of France; that Francis II. king of Bohemia and Hungary, has, by his note of the 18th of March, refused to renounce that league; that he has refused to put his troops, which are on the frontiers of France, on the peace establishment; that he has even augmented the number; that he has formally infringed the sovereignty of the French nation, by an open declaration that he would support the pretensions of the German princes, possessionaries in Alsace, in their feudal claims, notwithstanding France has constantly offered them a just and equitable indemnification; that he has attempted by his note to divide the French citizens, and to arm them against one another; that, from his refusal to answer the last dispatches from the king, there is no resource left for any negociations: from all these considerations, the national assem-

bly declares, that the conduct of the king of Bohemia and Hungary is equivalent to a formal declaration of war.

"The national assembly declares, that the French nation, faithful to the principles of its constitution, which forbid it every kind of conquest, and from arming against the liberty of any people, is now arming only for its own freedom, its independence, and its sovereignty.

"Seeing that the war into which it is forced, is not with nation against nation, but with the French people against the aggression of a king, who aims at its destruction, or its slavery, it declares, that the French will discriminate the property of foreigners, and that they will exercise the scourge of war on those only who have provoked it; *France adopts, beforehand,* as her sons, *all those who shall abandon the colours of her enemies,* and that she will favor *their establishment* in the kingdom by any means in her power.

"The national assembly, deliberating on the king's formal proposition, decrees, that *war shall be made* by the French nation against the king of Bohemia and Hungary."

The assembly also published the following address to the armed citizens:

"The fate of our liberty, and that, perhaps, of the whole world, is in our hands. We do not tell you of our confidence, like *your courage*, it is unbounded. We have not provoked the war; and when the king proposed to us, at length, to avenge the outrage committed against the dignity of the nation, we resisted for a long time the wish expressed by the general indignation of the French. A free people recurs to arms with regret, but it does not recur in vain. The shame and tortures incident to an eternal servitude, would not be an edequate punishment for a nation who should suffer their liberty to be wrested from them after having conquered it.

"And what object can be more worthy of your courage? The period is passed, in which French warriors, the docile instruments of one man's will, armed themselves only to defend the interests, the caprice, or the passions of kings. At present, yourselves, your children, your own rights, are to be defended. We must

conquer, or we must return to the dominion of feudal privileges, of arbitrary imprisonment, and of every sort of vexation, oppression, and servitude. Your own individual happiness, the happiness of all those who are dear to you, is thus intimately connected with the safety of the country.

"But those are unworthy to defend it, who do not add virtue to courage. The men whom we fight to-day, are our brothers; to-morrow, perhaps, they will be our friends. Intrepid in battle; firm during misfortunes; modest after victory; generous to the vanquished; such are a free people.

"The laws will punish with just severity all outrages against the rights of nations, and the still more sacred rights of nature. Rewards, on the contrary, will attend faithful warriors; their names will obtain for ever the gratitude, and the homage, of the friends of liberty; and, if they die in battle, their children shall be the children of their country.

"As for us, immoveable in the midst of political storms, we will carefully watch over all the machinations of all the enemies of the empire. The world shall determine, whether we are the representatives of a great people, or the timid subjects of an arbitrary king. We have sworn not to capitulate either with pride or tyranny: we will keep our oath—'Death! death! or victory and equality!'"

The army collected by the French emigrant princes, amounted to 14,000, chiefly gentlemen volunteers; it was stationed in the neighbourhood of Coblentz. Calonne had left England, and was the life and soul of this counter-revolutionary project. The command of the French army was confided to three commanders, of approved talents. Marshal Rochambeau, had an army of near 35,000 men, in the north, and fixed his head quarters at Valenciennes; he had under him, Biron, Delbeck, and D'Aument. The Marquis de la Fayette commanded an army of 20,000 men, having under him Wittgenstein, Bellemont, Crillon, Parquet, and Defrane. While Marshal Luckner had the command of the army of the Rhine, with generals Berthier, Lamoth, and Jary, under him. The first military operation of the French army was in the Austrian Netherlands; General Dillon, on May the 1st, with ten squadrons of cavalry, advanced from Lisle

to Tournay, where there was a strong Austrian force encamped, under the command of Count d'Happencourt; the French commenced the attack, but were defeated with great loss, and driven to the very gates of Lisle. General Dillon,* most unfortunately, laid under the imputation of being an aristocrat, and, though he acted in this affair with uncommon gallantry, yet his cowardly fugitive soldiers accused him of treachery, and he was basely murdered; and his dead body, after being horribly mangled, was thrown into a fire, round which the troops danced in a manner similar to the savages in Canada. Lieutenant-colonel Berthois shared a similar fate. Rochambeau, after hearing of the disgraceful action at Tournay, sent in his resignation to the ministry. The division of the army under General Biron, captured Quiverain, and advanced to Mons, where the Austrians having made an attack, were repulsed, as they were also in a skirmish near Maubeuge, in an attack upon La Fayette's advanced guard, in which the commander, M. Gouvion, was killed.

In Paris, all was suspicion and distrust. The assembly decreed, That the king's guard should be disbanded, and that the king and royal family, should be placed under the protection of the Parisian guard. It also decreed, that a proportionate number of troops should be raised from each of the eighty-three departments, to make up 20,000, for the defence of the capital; this order the king refused to sanction, and also dismissed M. Servan, minister for the war department. The assembly deeply resented the dismission of this minister: Louis had announced this circumstance by the following message:

"Mr. President,

"I desire you to inform the assembly, that I have just changed the ministers at war, of the home department, and of public contributions. I have replaced the two first by Messieurs Dumouriez and Morgues.

* Theobald Dillon was descended from an ancient family, in Ireland; he had devoted himself early to the profession of arms; he was made a colonel, and a general prior to his taking the command of the army against the Austrians; when he fell a sacrifice to the inhuman barbarity of his soldiers. John Talbot Dillon, a Count of the Holy Roman empire, author of a history of the French Revolution, and other works, was a branch of the same family.

"The third is not yet replaced. The minister of France to *Deux Ponts*, (M. Laillac) shall succeed M. Dumouriez in the ministry of foreign affairs. I am for the constitution; but I will also have order and execution in every part of the administration. All my efforts are directed to that end.

(Signed) LOUIS.
(Countersigned) DURANTHON."

M. Roland, the minister of the interior, upon his quitting office, addressed a letter to Louis, on which he presented him with a picture of the revolution; and the progress of the public spirit. A copy of this letter was sent by Roland to the national assembly, where it was read. Dumouriez, who was a member of the Jacobin club, soon resigned his situation, and resumed his post as lieutenant-general; M. Chambones was appointed in his room.

The king persisting in his refusing to sanction the decree lately made for augmenting the military force in Paris, the metropolis was in a most perturbed state; the Jacobins were unwearied in their efforts to excite an insurrection; libels of the most atrocious nature, chiefly the production of Marat, one of the most sanguinary members of the club, were daily published, and placarded on the walls of the city: the tree of liberty was planted opposite the door of the assembly, who, to excite a spirit of hatred to the privileged orders, decreed, that every department should be authorized to burn all such books and records, as contained the titles and genealogy of the ancient nobility.

The Marquis de la Fayette was now, in some degree, awakened to a sense of the danger which threatened the very existence of the monarch, and of the constitution; penetrated with such sentiments, he addressed a letter, on June 18, to the national assembly, in which he deprecated the measures lately adopted, which he attributed solely to the Jacobins. He conjured the assembly to forbear infringing upon the royal prerogative, as it was now framed; he denominated it the guarantee of the constitution, and the spring of liberty. Two days after this letter had been received by the legislative body, great multitudes of armed citizens were collected together in the gardens of the palace, and its vicinity: a de-

putation from this armed mob, headed by Santerre, a brewer, proceeded to the national assembly, where they complained of the conduct of the king; and declared, that they were prepared to make use of all means in their power, to put the second article of the Rights of Man into execution, which authorized resistance to oppression. The populace, amounting to near 40,000, headed by St. Hungues and Santerre, armed with pikes, preceded by two pieces of cannon, and an immense multitude of women, chiefly *poissardes* (fish-women), marched to the palace, which they surrounded, the doors of which were forced. Here the king and royal family were destined to undergo from this brutal assembly, the most nauseating and degrading insults: this moment Louis perceived the handwriting on the walls of his palace, which announced the termination of his regal authority; but, unlike the Babylonian monarch, he was firm and intrepid in the hour of danger. Louis was called upon to give his sanction to the decrees respecting the priests, the raising twenty thousand men, and to admit again into his council, the discarded ministers; but the king acted in a firm and decided manner; and amidst the howlings of an infuriated mob, amidst scenes descriptive of the infernal regions, he nobly refused to accede to the propositions so insolently made; he was, however, compelled to wear the *Bonnet Rouge*, (red cap,) the badge of liberty, which was placed on his head by a man in the worst state of intoxication, who uttered a volley of the most diabolical oaths at the time. Such was the lamentable situation in which Louis the Sixteenth was placed on the memorable 20th of June.

It is natural to inquire, Where was the mayor of Paris at this time? what was the national assembly doing? Petion was in the secret of this daring conspiracy against the dignity of the sovereign; he designedly absented himself for some time, till the populace had carried their excesses to its height, then the Jacobin mayor of Paris appeared at the palace; the assembly also sent a deputation to the king; Isnard, one of the members, declared he had seen the king with the cap of liberty on, waving his hat, and crying out, "*Vive la Nation!*" At the request of Petion, and the deputation from the assembly, the croud dispersed. The directory of the department of Paris published a declaration, concerning the conduct

of the mayor of Paris; and the procurer of the commune, Marshal Luckner, upon hearing of this outrage offered to his majesty, sent a letter, in which he severely animadverted on the conduct of the assembly; La Fayette also left the army, to appear at the bar of the assembly, to protest against the late scandalous proceedings of the Parisian mob. This step was a death-blow to his popularity, which had been some time on the decline. A deputation of 493 citizens, from Versailles, presented a petition to the assembly, praying for a decree of impeachment against La Fayette.

De Brie, one of the Jacobin members, moved an address, stating, that the country was in danger; and a few days after, the king sent a message, apprising the assembly, that the king of Prussia was marching with 50,000 men, to co-operate with the Austrians, against France.

The disputes in the assembly were carried on with a great degree of bitterness and animosity; some of the Brissotine faction openly averred, that it was necessary for the safety of the country, that the king should be deposed. An absurd rumour was spread, that a new tribunal had been erected in the Thuilleries, under the direction of the king's commissioner; it was designated as a tribunal of blood: "Is it not horrible, (said a member of the Jacobin faction,) that in the fourth year of liberty, justices of the peace should establish their tribunal in the king's palace, when they durst not attempt it even under the ancient despotic government?" An endeavor was made at this time to conciliate the legislative and executive power, by M. La Mourette, Bishop of Lyons, in the following speech:

"Every dissention is remediable except that between good and bad men. It depends entirely upon you, gentlemen, to prepare yourselves for a moment very precious to sensible minds. One part of the assembly accuses the other with the design of overturning the monarchy, and of forming a republic; on the other side, the minds of the people are irritated by the suspicion of a plan for two houses of assembly.

"Gentlemen, let us renounce, by an irrevocable oath, both the idea of a republic and of two houses of assembly; let us swear to have but one mind, but one heart; let us swear this, and the country is saved."

The good bishop only occasioned a momentary pacific sensation; though both parties complimented him upon the purity of his motives. The ceremony in the *Champ des Mars*, July 14, when the king renewed his oath of fidelity at the altar, exposed Louis to fresh mortifications and insults, instead of cries of, *Vive le Roi!* nothing was heard but shouts of, *Vive la Nation!* The six members, to whom the direction of public affairs was committed, now resigned all at once their different situations, leaving their sovereign in a most embarassed and perplexed state.

War had been declared against France, with the usual formalities, by the Emperor Francis; and the King of Prussia issued a state paper, containing an explanation of the causes which induced him to take up arms against France. The Duke of Brunswick was appointed Generalissimo of the Prussian forces, who, on his arrival with the first division of his army at Coblentz, published the following ever memorable manifesto:

"Declaration, addressed by his Most Serene Highness the reigning Duke of Brunswick Lunenburg, commanding the combined armies of their Majesties the Emperor, and the King of Prussia, to the inhabitants of France.

"Their Majesties the Emperor, and the King of Prussia, having entrusted me with the command of the combined armies, assembled on the frontiers of France, I think it my duty to inform the inhabitants of that kingdom of the motives which have influenced the conduct of the two sovereigns, and of the principles by which they are guided.

"After arbitrarily suppressing the rights, and invading the possessions of the German princes, in Alsace and Lorraine; after having disturbed and overthrown, in the interior part of the kingdom, all order and lawful government; after having been guilty of the most daring attacks, and having had recourse to the most violent measures, which are still daily renewed, against the most sacred person of the king, and against his august family; those who have seized on the reins of government, have, at length, filled the measure of their guilt, by declaring an unjust war against his majesty the Emperor, and by invading the provinces of the Low Countries. Some of the possessions belonging to the German

empire have been equally exposed to the same oppression, and many others have only avoided the danger by yielding to the impetuous threats of the domineering party, and their emissaries.

"His Majesty the King of Prussia, united with his Imperial Majesty in the bands of the strictest defensive alliance, and as a preponderant member himself of the Germanic body, could not refuse marching to the assistance of his ally, and his co-estates: it is under this double relation that he undertakes the defence of that monarch, and of Germany.

"To these high interests is added another important object, and which both sovereigns have cordially in view, which is, to put an end to the anarchy which prevails in the interior parts of France; to put a stop to the attacks made on the throne and the altar; to restore the king to his legitimate power, to liberty, and to safety, of which he is now deprived; and to place him in such a situation, that he may exercise that legitimate authority to which he is entitled.

"Convinced that the sober part of the nation detest the excesses of a faction which has enslaved them, and that the majority of the inhabitants wait with impatience the moment when succours shall arrive, to declare themselves openly against the odious enterprises of their oppressors; his Majesty the Emperor, and his Majesty the King of Prussia, earnestly invite them to return without delay into the paths of reason and justice, of order and peace. It is with this view, that I, the under-written, general-commandant in chief of the two armies, do declare:

"1st. That, drawn into the present war by irresistible circumstances, the two allied courts have no other object in view, than the welfare of France, without any pretence to enrich themselves by making conquests.

"2dly. That they do not mean to meddle with the internal government of France, but that they simply intend to deliver the king, the queen, and the royal family, from this captivity; and to insure to his Most Christian Majesty, that safety which is necessary for his making, without danger, and without obstacles, such convocations as he shall judge proper; and for endeavoring to insure the welfare of his subjects, according to his promises, and to the utmost of his power.

"3dly. That the combined armies shall protect the towns, bourgs, and villages, as well as the persons and property of all those who shall submit to the king: and that they will concur in the restoration of order and police throughout France.

"4thly. That the national guards are called upon to preserve, provisionally, tranquillity in towns, and in the country, to provide for the personal safety and property of all Frenchmen, until the arrival of the troops belonging to their Imperial and Royal Majesties, or until orders be given to the contrary, on pain of being personally responsible; that, on the contrary, such national guards as shall fight against the troops of the two allied courts, and who shall be taken with arms in their hands, shall be treated as enemies, and punished as rebels to their king, and as disturbers of the public peace.

"5thly. That the general officers, the subalterns, and soldiers of the regular French troops, are equally called upon to return to their former allegiance, and to submit immediately to the king, their legitimate sovereign.

"6thly. That the members of departments, districts, and municipalities, shall be equally responsible, on pain of losing their heads and their estates, for all the crimes, all the conflagrations, all the murders and the pillage which they shall suffer to take place, and which they shall not have, in a public manner, attempted to prevent, within their respective territories; that they shall also be obliged to continue their functions, until his Most Christian Majesty, when set at full liberty, shall make further arrangements, or until further orders be given in his name.

"7thly. That the inhabitants of towns, bourgs, and villages, who shall dare to defend themselves against the troops of their Imperial and Royal Majesties, and to fire upon them, either in the open country, or through half-open doors, or windows of their houses, shall be punished instantly, according to the rigorous rules of war, or their houses shall be demolished, or burned. On the contrary, all the inhabitants of the said towns, bourgs, and villages, who shall readily submit to their king, by opening their gates to the troops belonging to their majesties, shall be immediately under their safeguard and protection; their estates, their property, and their persons, shall be se-

cured by the laws, and each and all of them shall be in full safety.

" 8thly. The city of Paris, and all its inhabitants, without distinction, shall be called upon to submit instantly and without delay to the king, to set that prince at full liberty, and to insure to his, and all the royal personages, that inviolability and respect which are due, by the laws of nature and of nations, to sovereigns; their Imperial and Royal Majesties making them personally responsible for all events, on pain of losing their heads, pursuant to military trials, without hopes of pardon, all the members of the national assembly, of the department, of the district, of the municipality, and of the national guards of Paris, justices of peace, and others whom it may concern: and their Imperial and Royal Majesties further declare, on their faith and word of Emperor and King, that if the palace of the Thuilleries be forced, or insulted; if the least violence be offered, the least outrage done their majesties, the king, the queen, and the royal family; if they be not immediately placed in safety, and set at liberty, they will inflict on those who shall deserve it, the most exemplary and ever-memorable avenging punishments, by giving up the city of Paris to military execution, and exposing it to total destruction; and the rebels who shall be guilty of illegal resistance, shall suffer the punishments which they shall have deserved; their Imperial and Royal Majesties promise, on the contrary, to all the inhabitants of the city of Paris, to employ their good offices with his Most Christian Majesty, to obtain for them a pardon for their insults and errors, and to adopt the most vigorous measures for the security of their persons and property, provided they speedily and strictly conform to the above instructions.

" Finally. Their majesties not being at liberty to acknowledge any other laws in France, except those which shall be derived from the king, when at full liberty, protest beforehand against the authenticity of all kind of declarations which may be issued in the name of the king, so long as his sacred person, and that of the queen, and the princes of the whole royal family, shall not be in full safety: and, with this view, their Imperial and Royal Majesties invite and intreat his Most Christian Majesty to name a town in his kingdom, nearest to the frontiers, in which he would wish to remove, together with the

queen, and the royal family, under a strong and safe escort, which shall be sent for that purpose; so that his Most Christian Majesty may, in perfect safety, send for such ministers and counsellors as he shall be pleased to name; and order such convocations as he shall think proper, and provide for the restoration of order, and the regular administration of his kingdom.

" In fine, I declare and promise in my own individual name, and in my above quality, to cause to be observed every where, by the troops under my command, good and strict discipline; promising to treat with mildness and moderation those well disposed subjects who shall submit peaceably and quietly, and to employ forces against those only who shall be guilty of resistance, and manifest evil intentions.

" I therefore call upon and expect all the inhabitants of the kingdom, in the most earnest and forcible manner, not to make any opposition to the troops under my command, but rather to suffer them every where to enter the kingdom freely, and to afford them all the assistance, and shew them all the benevolence, which circumstances may require.

" Given at general quarters, at Coblentz,
" July 25, 1792.

(Signed) " CHARES WILLIAM FERDINAND,
" DUKE OF BRUNSWICK LUNENBURG."

Additional Declaration by his Most Serene Highness, the reigning Duke of Brunswick and Lunenburg, addressed to the Inhabitants of France.

" The declaration which I have addressed to the inhabitants of France, dated general quarters at Coblentz, July 25, must have sufficiently made known the firm resolves of their Majesties the Emperor and the King of Prussia, when they entrusted me with the command of the combined armies.

" The liberty and safety of the sacred persons of the king, of the queen, and of the royal family, being one of the principal motives which have determined their Imperial and Royal Majesties to act in concert, I have made known, by my said declaration, to the inhabitants of Paris, my resolve to inflict on them the most terrible punishments, if the least insult should be offered to his Most

Christian Majesty, for whom the city of Paris is particularly responsible.

"Without making the least alteration to the 8th article of the said declaration of the 25th instant, I declare, besides, that if, contrary to all expectation, by the perfidy and baseness of some inhabitants of Paris, the king, the queen, or any other person of the royal family, should be carried off from that city, all the places and towns whatsoever, which shall not have opposed their passage, and shall not have stopped their proceeding, shall incur the same punishments as those inflicted on the inhabitants of Paris, and the route which shall be taken by those who carry off the king and the royal family, shall be marked with a series of exemplary punishments, justly due to the authors and abettors of crimes for which there is no remission.

"All the inhabitants of France are in general to take warning of the dangers with which they are threatened, and which it will be impossible for them to avoid, unless they, with all their might, and by every means in their power, oppose the passage of the king and royal family, to whatever place the factious may attempt to carry them. Their Imperial and Royal Majesties will not allow any place of retreat to be the free choice of his Most Christian Majesty, (in case he should comply with the invitation which has been made him,) unless that retreat be effected under the escort which has been offered.

"All declarations whatsoever, in the name of his Most Christian Majesty, which shall be contrary to the object which their Imperial and Royal Majesties have in view, shall consequently be considered as null and without effect.

"Given at general quarters, at Coblentz,
"July 27, 1792.

(Signed) "CHARLES WILLIAM FERDINAND,
"DUKE OF BRUNSWICK LUNENBURG."

Such was the famous manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick; and had his Serene Highness, or those potentates under whom he served, wished to promote the cause of Jacobinism in France, and to place the royal family in a more distressing situation, no measure was so well calculated for the purpose as this famous and impolitic state paper. It appeared to have been drawn up under the

influence of strong prejudice, without due deliberation as to the existing circumstances of the French nation; and had the king and royal family been even at Coblentz, instead of being prisoners in the capital, the language of the manifesto was intemperate and ill-timed: this was a crisis of the greatest importance; a softened and ameliorating language might have produced a change of opinion in the minds of multitudes, who were able and willing to impede the operations of the sanguine Jacobin party; but the die was cast. It is impossible to describe the rage and indignation which this proclamation occasioned throughout the whole kingdom of France; all parties united in condemning it; addresses flowed into the assembly from all quarters, in which the national enthusiasm was displayed, in eager offers of volunteering services for the salvation of the country. The city of Marseilles, which was notorious for the democracy of its inhabitants, sent a large body of men to join the citizens of Paris. It was on this occasion that that grand piece of music, so well known by the name of the "Marseilles Hymn," was composed, and played before the troops on their march.

La Fayette began now to be more than suspected; he had recently established a club in opposition to the Jacobin, which was denominated the *Feuillans*, the institution of which was avowedly to preserve the royal authority. Twelve commissioners were deputed to examine into the conduct of this general, and report accordingly: the commissioners were unable to attach any conduct to him contrary to positive law. La Source was his most formidable opponent; he was the public accuser of this celebrated commander; he told the assembly, that he was come to pull down the idol which had been so long worshipped; that he reproached himself with having been his adherent and admirer; "Let us not (said he) display, with lying pomp, the services formerly rendered by the hero of the two worlds; base idolaters! Because you thought once, you were throwing incense on a divinity, would you continue to bow before it, seeing it is nothing but an image? When you punished the soldiers who had rendered themselves culpable at Tournay, at Mons, and at Neubrissac, did you estimate the fatigues they had formerly endured, the dangers they had braved, the wounds they had received, the enemies they had

conquered? And, though it were true, that Manlius had saved the capital; if Manlius had betrayed his country, ought he not to be hurled from the Tarpean Rock? La Fayette has not had the honor to *save* his country; but he has had the baseness to *betray* it." The assembly, by a majority of 182 voices, acquitted the Marquis.

At the commencement of the month of August, a most desperate measure was adopted by the Jacobin party. The mayor of Paris, at the head of a deputation, appeared at the bar of the assembly, demanding the deposition of the king; and on the evening of the 9th of August, the most furious members of the Jacobin club had a special meeting; when Danton exclaimed, "Let us cease to appeal to the laws, and the legislators, the greater part of them are nothing better than the accomplices of La Fayette, whom they have just absolved; to absolve that traitor, is to deliver ourselves to him, to the enemies of France, and to the sanguinary vengeance of the coalesced kings;—What do I say? It is this very night that the perfidious Louis has selected for delivering up to carnage, and to the flames, that capital he wishes once more to leave:—To arms! to arms!" A horrible yell announced the approbation of all present. On the same day, the national assembly were deliberating on the question of the king's forfeiture of the crown; the *ci-devant* Marquis Condorcet, the friend of Diderot and Voltaire, made a report from the committee on those crimes alleged against Louis, for which he was to forfeit his crown. The friends of the king obtained a short adjournment, when the populace, excited by the emissaries of the Jacobins, proceeded to the greatest excesses.

Upon the re-assembling of the assembly, Petion appeared at the bar, informing the president, that the magistracy of the city had been new organised; and that Santerre had been appointed commander in chief, in lieu of Fayette. At midnight the *tocsin*, or alarm-bell, was rung by order of the new commune, to announce that the capital was in a state of insurrection; immediately the houses were all abandoned, and the people armed with pikes, muskets, pitchforks, or whatever weapons they could procure, marched, with cannon preceding them, to the palace of the Thuilleries; the royal abode was guarded by about seven hundred of the Swiss

guards, and in the interior of the palace were between seven and eight hundred royalists, gentlemen volunteers well armed, and determined to protect their sovereign, or die in his cause. The royal family had been persuaded to remove from the Thuilleries to the hall of the national assembly, whither the king, the queen, madam Elizabeth, the dauphin, and the princess royal, (now the duchess of Angouleme,) repaired on foot: upon their arrival, Louis addressed the president and members, saying, "I come hither to prevent a great crime; among you, gentlemen, I believe myself in safety now." The royal family were placed in a small box, where they remained fourteen hours.

The insurgents, who were under the command of a man named Weisterman, were greatly irritated upon being informed of the absence of the royal family; they were about to enter, when the Swiss guard were ordered to oppose them, upon which a dreadful scene of carnage ensued; the Swiss retired within the Chateau, and their barracks in the palace were set fire to, and burned to the ground. The *Marseillois*, bolder than the rest, stormed the castle, notwithstanding a cannon loaded with grape-shot was fired upon them; all the Swiss found within were immediately put to the sword. In this horrible rencontre, more than six hundred of the Swiss were slain, and full double the number of the malcontents, in the indiscriminate massacre which followed the overcoming of the guards. Clermont Tonnere, an eminent member of the assembly, one of the partisans of Brissot, was assassinated. The assembly were sitting the whole of this awful period, in the evening, and while the king and his family were in the box, where they could hear the debates so injurious to their feelings. Vergniaud proposed the following resolutions, which were agreed to:

"The national assembly, considering that the want of confidence in the executive power is the cause of all our evils; and that this want of confidence has called forth, from all parts of the kingdom, a wish, that the authority entrusted by the constitution to Louis XVI. should be revoked; and that the only means of reconciling what they owe to the safety of the people, and to their own oath, of not increasing their own power, but to submit to the sovereign will of the nation, decree as follows:

" 1st. The French people are invited to form a national convention. The committee will propose a plan for pointing out the time and mode of calling the convention.

" 2d. The executive power is *provisionally* supended from this moment, until the national convention shall have decreed the measures necessary to be pursued for preserving the national independence, the civil list is suspended; and the committee will point out the sum which the legislative body ought to allow for the subsistence of the royal family.

" 3d. The six ministers now in office shall exercise the executive power. The extraordinary commission shall present, in the course of this day, a plan for the organization of the ministry.

" 4th. The extraordinary commission shall present a plan for appointing a governor to the prince royal.

" 5th. The king and royal family shall remain under the protection of the legislative body till the department shall prepare apartments for them at the Luxembourg.

" 6th. The king and royal family are under the safeguard of the law, and their defence entrusted to the national guard of Paris.

" 7th. All magistrates, officers, and soldiers, who shall quit their post, shall be declared infamous and traitors to their country.

" 8th. The department of Paris shall this day cause the present decree to be proclaimed.

" 9th. It shall, at the same time, be transmitted by extraordinary couriers to the eighty-three departments."

The people, when this decree had passed, became pacified.

The assembly appointed M. Danton, minister of justice; Monge, to be minister of marine; Le Brun, minister for foreign affairs; and M. Grouvelle, was made secretary to the council. The hatred for loyalty was now fully displayed, by the defacing and overturning the equestrian statues of Louis XIII. XIV. and XV. and even that of the good King Henry the IVth. to which it had been customary for every Frenchman to take off his hat. These minor outrages were committed by parties of that mob which had so cruelly massacred the Swiss guards. The unfortunate Louis was conveyed under a strong escort to the Temple.

We shall now take a glance at the prevailing opinions in England, relative to the former, and the more recent proceedings of the French revolutionists. Although the proceedings of the first national assembly, had been viewed with satisfaction, as the regeneration of a monarchy founded on the basis of despotism; yet there were not wanting persons of great political sagacity, who rejoiced with trembling; who presaged that reformation would be followed by innovation; and that amidst the vast population of France, there would be found a multitude of desperate characters, who, under the banners of liberty, would be struggling to introduce a system of licentiousness, subversive of all social order. The abolition of titles, the gross attack upon the sovereign at Versailles, and the massacre of the Swiss guards, were a warning voice, loudly proclaiming the approach of a period when the whole fabric of the constitution, erected by some of the ablest men in France, should be totally subverted. In the British senate, two of the most distinguished orators, Mr. Fox, and Edmund Burke, had frequently eulogised the revolution in glowing terms: "Fox was the first member that introduced the change in France to the notice of the House of Commons.* The new form that the government of France was likely to assume, would, he was persuaded, make her a better neighbour, and less propense to hostility, than when she was subject to the cabal and intrigues of ambitious and interested statesmen." Mr. Burke carried his views further on the subject, his vast and capacious mind, not arrested by passing events, penetrated into futurity; he saw, with deep regret, the divine and beautiful form of Liberty, deformed and mutilated by a banditti, who aimed at its annihilation, while prostrate before its altars; hence he withdrew the powerful aid of his abilities from advocating a cause which he saw reason afterward to disapprove. He published an analysis of his views, sentiments and opinions, in his justly celebrated "Reflections on the French Revolution;" subsequent to which, in a debate on the proposed constitution of Canada, Mr. Fox declared his dissent to the opinions of his bosom friend, on that topic.

* Dr. Bisset's Life of Fox, in the Historical Magazine, October, 1799.

M. Chauvelin was at this time the accredited ambassador from the *ci-devant* court of Versailles. In June, 1792, he addressed a note to Lord Grenville, relative to the views of the courts of Vienna and Berlin; in reply to which the following answer was sent:

Copy of the Answer of Lord Grenville.

"The undersigned, Secretary of State to the King, had the honor to submit to his Majesty, the note which M. Chauvelin addressed to him on the 18th of June.

"The King always receives with the same sensibility, on the part of his Most Christian Majesty, the assurances of his friendship, and his wishes for the maintenance of that happy harmony subsisting between the two empires. His Majesty never will refuse to concur for the preservation, or re-establishment of the peace of Europe, by the means most proper to produce that effect, consistently with his own dignity, and with the principles which direct his conduct. But those same sentiments which have engaged him not to interfere in the internal affairs of France, equally tend to induce him to respect the rights of independence of other Sovereigns, and particularly those of his allies; and his Majesty is of opinion, that in the present circumstances of the war, the interference of his councils, or of his good offices, cannot be useful, unless, at least, it be desired by all the parties concerned.

"It only remains then to the undersigned to repeat to M. Chauvelin, the assurance of the wishes entertained by his Majesty for the return of tranquillity; of the interests he always will take in the happiness of his Most Christian Majesty, and of the value with which he regards the expressions of his friendship and confidence.

Whitehall, July 8, 1792. "GRENVILLE."

It is worthy of notice, that although Chauvelin designated Louis, by his new title as *King of the French*, Lord Grenville emphatically stiles him, "His Most Christian Majesty;" a demonstrative proof, that the British cabinet was not very favorably inclined to the new constitution.

That ferocious faction which had now the ascendancy in France, was resolved, that the place of confinement should be one where there was not a possibility of his Majesty's escape. The Luxembourg palace had been proposed,

but the municipality of Paris, with M. Manuel at their head, insisted that he should be removed to the Temple, and guarded by 28 men, from each of the 48 sections. The Temple was an insulated building, surrounded by high walls; to that prison, as we have already mentioned, was the king, and all the royal family, removed.

On August 13, General Marquis La Fayette addressed the following letter to the department of Ardennes:

"*Camp of Sedan.*

"I received no official information of the late events that have stained the capital; but on this, as on every occasion, I opened the constitution, and in it read my duty.

"Convinced that every society, in which the guaranty of rights is not secured, nor the separation of powers marked out, has no constitution, I have combated, with all my power, the arbitrary government of France; and after having been the first to proclaim, that the principle of all sovereignty resides essentially in the nation; that nobody, no individual, can exercise authority which does not expressly emanate from it: I assented to the constitutional act which the constituent assembly gave us; and I thought that the first of my duties, as a citizen and a soldier, was to be faithful to it. As a citizen, I will always obey the laws which the representatives of the people shall have made, according to the forms prescribed by the constitution; and, as a soldier, I am bound to acknowledge the king for the supreme chief of the army, and to obey all orders, conformable to the constitution, which the minister at war has counter-signed. But in the present circumstances, when, in the midst of massacres, the king, whose intervention makes part of the legislative power, has not been declared to have forfeited, a thing applicable to some cases, all different from the present, but suspended from his functions, a right which the constitution delegates to no power; when the legislative body, violated on the preceding days, in the persons of its members, and for decrees passed by a great majority, cannot be considered as free at the moment when cannon were firing around it, and when the hall was beset by an armed banditti; I can no longer trace the constitutional forms that ought to distinguish authority from usurpation. It becomes, then, a faithful obser-

ver of the principles common to all free men, and of the laws adopted by his country, to search in the laws themselves for the civil authority under which he ought to range himself, because the military force, which for an instant ceases to be directed by a civil and constitutional authority, becomes dangerous to the public liberty.

"I see, gentlemen, in the constitution, and in the laws which were made by the legislative power in its integrity, that the troops of the line ought not to act within the kingdom, but on the requisition of the administrative bodies. Here then is a civil authority, constitutional and incontestible, to which I may legally address myself; and as I am in the department of Ardennes, with a great part of the armed force committed to my care, I am now to give you an account of it, to consult you, and in this important crisis to know what are your intentions.

"You are not ignorant, gentlemen, that the legislative body has deputed commissioners of its own members to repair to the army, and cause there to be executed decrees which cannot at present have the royal sanction, and which do not seem to me to have been passed by the legislative body itself in a state of full liberty. You perceive that it is necessary for me, as general of the army, to ask your opinion on this subject.

"As to my own private opinion, you are sufficiently acquainted with me to know that, independent of all factions, of all interests, and of all dangers, I will never bow to any despotism that head, which, since I existed, has been devoted to the cause of Liberty and Equality, and often exposed for that cause on both hemispheres. The Declaration of Rights was my sole guide, till the National will had adopted a Constitution; and since I have sworn to observe it, I will not betray my oath.—Accept the homage of my devotion and my respect.

(Signed) "LA FAYETTE."

Three days after the date of this address, the provisional executive council dismissed La Fayette from his command, and Dumouriez was appointed his successor. The general, and all his staff officers, having resolved to serve no longer in France; proceeded from Bouillon to Namur, where they were arrested by the commander of the advanced posts of the Austrian army. They were conveyed to Nevilles, accompanied by

Major Paulus, and a strong detachment of hussars, to Luxembourg.†

The tenor of the note of the court of St. James's, indicated an idea, that a coolness was about to take place, between Great Britain and France; Lord Gower, the English Ambassador at Paris, received the following letter from the Right Honorable Henry Dundas, in the absence of Lord Grenville, recalling the ambassador from Paris:

"My Lord,

"In Lord Grenville's absence, I have received, and laid before the King, your last dispatches.

"His Majesty has been very deeply afflicted, in receiving the information of the extent, and the deplorable consequences of the troubles which have happened in Paris; as well on account of his personal attachment to their Most Christian Majesties, and the interest that he has always taken in their welfare, as for the earnest desire he has for the tranquillity and prosperity of a kingdom with which he is on terms of friendship.

As it appears, in the present state of affairs, the exer-

† The MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE, was a native of Auvergne, and descended from an ancient family, the name of which was *Motier*. He was educated in the college of *Louis le grand*, at Paris; and was only nineteen years of age, when he was selected to the command of the French troops destined for the assistance of the American Congress. Upon his return to France, he became an avowed enemy of the old despotic government of France, and was unwearied in disseminating principles of liberty, so far as related to a free constitution, under a limited monarchy. Thus we have seen him eminently conspicuous in all the events of the revolution, until the Jacobin faction prevailed, and the king was bound in chains. It is deeply to be lamented, that La Fayette, who must have foreseen what might probably occur from the desperate councils of the Jacobins, had not made an earlier stand against the rising influence of that faction. At *one time* he had it in his power to have been the salvation of his king and country. La Fayette was radically a friend to the king, but he suffered the *rubicon to be passed*, before he acted upon his principles. When he declared himself a royalist, his army was debauched by republican principles. From the part he acted in the revolution, he was despised by the emigrants, as much as he was hated by the revolutionists, for a dereliction of principles. La Fayette was afterward delivered up to the King of Prussia, who removed him to Magdebourg, where he was confined for twelve months in a dungeon; having made his escape, he was retaken, and confined with greater rigor; in 1797, he was liberated at the request of the Directory, and of General Bonaparte; he then returned to his estates in Auvergne. This celebrated man has lived to see the astonishing events which raised his intercessor to imperial authority, and the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty to the throne.

cise of the executive power has been withdrawn from his Most Christian Majesty, the credentials which have hitherto been made use of by your Excellency *can no longer be valid*. His Majesty is therefore of opinion, that you ought not to remain any longer in Paris, as well on this account, as because this step appears to him the most conformable to the principles of neutrality, which he has hitherto observed. His Majesty's pleasure therefore is, that you should quit that city, and return to England, as soon as you shall have been able to procure the necessary passports for that purpose.

"In all the conversations that you may have occasion to hold before your departure, you will take care to express yourself in a manner conformable to the sentiments herein communicated to you, and you will take especial care not to neglect any opportunity of declaring, that at the same time his Majesty means to observe the principles of neutrality, in every thing which regards the arrangement of the internal government of France, he does not conceive that he departs from these principles in manifesting, by every possible means in his power, his solicitude for the personal situation of their Most Christian Majesties and the royal family. He most earnestly hopes, that his wishes in that respect will not be deceived; that the royal family will be preserved from every act of violence, the commission of which would not fail to excite sentiments of universal indignation throughout all Europe.

"I have the honor to be, &c. &c.

"HENRY DUNDAS."

This letter was, without delay, communicated to Le Brun, the French minister, who laid it before the provisional executive council. The French minister in his answer, expressed the regret that the council felt at the recal of Lord Gower; but trusted that England would still continue its commercial connexion with France.

The hostile armies were now rapidly advancing; the Prussians defeated a large body of French troops near Longwy, which place surrendered on August 22, after a siege of fifteen hours. Marat, Robespierre, Danton, and all the leaders of the Jacobin club, were most assiduous in spreading alarm, and exciting the Parisians to make every exertion in defence of the capital; resources

were not wanting; all the implements of war were diligently collected, so as to form a complete arsenal; every citizen able to bear arms became a soldier; the property of the emigrants was sold; bronze statues were formed into cannon; lead into bullets; and the silver saints, so long the blind objects of adoration, were put into requisition, and consigned, with all their sacred honors, to the melting pot.

The Duke of Brunswick had now led on his troops to the gates of Verdun, which, upon being summoned, surrendered. Upon intelligence of this event, the following proclamation was published by sound of trumpet:

"Citizens,

"The enemy is at the gates of Paris. Verdun, which lies in his way, and obstructs his passage, cannot hold out longer than eight days. The citizens who defend it have sworn that they will perish rather than surrender it. By this declaration, they tell you that their bodies shall serve as a rampart to cover you. It is your duty to fly to their relief. Citizens, draw up immediately under your colours; let us rendezvous in the *Champ de Mars:* let us this moment form an army of sixty thousand men; and let us perish under the swords of the enemies, or exterminate them with ours."

A decree was also passed, for punishing with death, every armed citizen, who should refuse either to march against the enemy, or give up his arms to one that was willing so to do; and another, that whoever should, directly or indirectly, impede the operations of the national executive power, should suffer death. Never did Paris exhibit such a scene as at this moment; the streets were crouded with people, and an immense multitude had assembled together for the avowed purpose of massacreing, in cold blood, every suspected person: an universal exclamation was heard, "That the domestic foes of the country, ought to suffer before foreign enemies were attacked." This was the prelude to the bloody tragedy which ensued on the second and third days of September. On the former of those days, in the morning, the work of death began, and continued throughout the day; the prisons were broken open, and three hundred and sixty priests were slaughtered one by one, at the prison of the Abbey; the Abbé Sicard, the celebrated

teacher of the deaf and dumb, was spared on account of his talents; the Abbé Bardy, and the Princess Lamballe, the most intimate friend and companion of the queen, fell victims to the sanguinary rage of the assassins; the head of the latter was fixed on a pole, and carried along the streets in triumph; and with a refinement of barbarity, the Parisian savages paraded with this insignia of murder close by the Temple, calling out to the royal prisoners, the queen especially, to come and see it. Amidst this bloody scene, (only to be paralleled by the massacre of the protestants, in 1572,) the unfortunate victims underwent a mock trial; after hearing what each one had to say, every juryman laid his hand upon the head of the prisoner under trial, and this question was put; "Do you believe in your conscience, that A. B. ought to be enlarged;" if the prisoner answered in the affirmative, he was apparently discharged; but soon after he found himself attacked by the people without, who dispatched him with axes and pikes: when any prisoner was really acquitted, a signal was given, by crying, *Vive le Nation!* and with that shout he was safely liberated.‡ All the prisoners confined in the *Conciergerie*, were carried to the great stair-case of the *Palais*, (the great court of law,) where their heads were struck off; those in the *Chatelet*, were murdered on the bridge called the *Pont au Change:* at the *Bicetre*, the executions were equally numerous. The following circumstance is too interesting to be omitted: "Before the sham tribunal, established for ordering the execution of prisoners, was brought an old man, faint with weakness, infirmities and age; he was leaning on a beautiful young girl, who was all bathed in tears, and who had not quitted him for half an hour together, for the last eight days; on her countenance appeared horror inexpressible; not at the prospect of danger to herself, for she was not a prisoner, and had nothing personal to fear, but at the idea of seeing her aged parent butchered before her face. It appeared from the old man's examination, that he was General Sombreuil, governor of the *Hotel des Invalides*, the Chelsea College of Paris. The man who sat as judge, moved by the tears of the daughter, and feeling nature

‡ Perry's Sketch, vol. 2. Dr. Moore's Journal of a Residence in Paris, vol. 1.

working in his bosom, gave way to her generous emotion, and thus addressed his fellows, 'I think, my lads, that whether this old man is guilty or not, it would not become the people to spill his blood; what say you, my lads?' The general answer was, 'Aye, discharge him! discharge him!' When the daughter heard this, she was no longer mistress of herself, she expressed her joy by a loud shout, and rushed into her father's arms." The bodies of the wretched sufferers who fell in this infernal massacre, lay exposed until the 4th of September, when they were deposited in a lime-pit, in the adjacent village of Veaugirard.*

The mayor of Paris, who, during this awful period, had kept himself from public view, now came forward and announced that tranquillity was restored. Happy would it have been had the dreadful scenes lately exhibited been confined to the metropolis; but in other parts of the kingdom, similar deeds of horror were perpetrated: at Lyons the prisons were broken open, and upwards of 140 persons, accused of counter-revolutionary practices, were butchered. Orleans was full of prisoners, who were conducted to Versailles, and there massacred.

We shall now direct our attention to the operations of the armies. Verdun was surrendered contrary to the wishes of Beaurepaire, who was the commandant; and who, in consequence of his advice and remonstrance being overruled, put an end to his existence with a pistol; the national assembly ordered his body to be deposited in the Pantheon, with this inscription on his tomb, "He chose to put himself to death, rather than capitulate with tyrants." The Austrians afterward took possession of Stenay. When Thionville was besieged, and summoned to surrender, Wimpfen, the governor, replied, "You may fill our streets with blood, but you shall not terrify me, nor the soldiers whom I command, into any act of cowardice: you may fire the town, but I defy you to burn the ramparts." He then ordered a wooden horse to be placed on the ramparts, with his mouth stuffed full

* Dr. MOORE, the elegant author of Zeluco, View of Society and Manners in Switzerland, &c. was in Paris at this time, with the Earl of Lauderdale. He afterwards published a Journal of the Occurrences.

of hay, observing, that he would surrender when the horse had finished his dinner. It was in one of the sorties from this place, that the Prince of Waldeck was killed. The Austrians were, at length, compelled to raise the siege.

When General Dumouriez arrived at Sedan, he held a council of war; while earnestly looking at a map, he pointed to the Forest of Argonne, which extends nearly from Sedan to Passevant, exclaiming, "Behold the Thermopylæ of France; if I have the good fortune to arrive there before the Duke of Brunswick, our country will be saved." The Forest of Argonne was full of narrow passes, and to that place the general immediately directed his march. The principal movement of the Prussian army was directed against Grand Pré, leading from Stenay to Rheims, where Dumouriez himself was posted. The Prince of Hohenloe, with the Austrians, attacked Les Islettes, which led from Verdun to Paris, which was guarded by General Dillon. The allies made repeated efforts to force the passes, but were repulsed. Le Croix au bois, which formed a road from Briquenai to Vouviers, was entrusted by Dumouriez to a lieutenant-colonel who had distinguished himself in the American war; this officer was extremely negligent with respect to the trust confided in him, he had but one hundred men to guard the pass; General Clairfayt being informed of this circumstance, dispatched the Prince de Ligne to dislodge this handful of troops; the French fell back; General Chuzot was dispatched to their assistance, and, for a time, the action, which was now become very obstinate, was in favor of the French, the Prince de Ligne being killed; but, at length, Chuzot was defeated, and obliged to retreat to Vougiers.

Dumouriez, upon hearing this event, sent orders to General Bournonville to march towards St. Menchould, where he hoped to make a junction with him and General Kellerman. The Duke of Brunswick formed a plan for an attack upon the latter, before his junction could be completed, the general in chief arrived, without any accident, at the camp St. Menehould, from whence he sent the following laconic note to the president of the national assembly;

"I have been obliged to abandon the camp of Grand Pré; the retreat was completed, when a panic terror

seized upon the army, and ten thousand troops fled before fifteen hundred Prussians. The loss does not amount to more than fifty men, and some baggage. Order is again restored, and I am ready to answer for the consequences.

"DUMOURIEZ."

The celebrated *Miranda* was in Dumouriez's army at this time, and greatly distinguished himself. When Chuzot's army was thrown into confusion by the approach of the Prussians, Kellerman was advancing in excellent order, and was within a mile of the camp of Dumouriez, when he was attacked by the King of Prussia in person, near Valmy. The French behaved with uncommon fortitude, singing, the Marseillois Hymn the whole time of the engagement. In this battle of Valmy 400 French were killed, and 500 wounded; a much greater number of the Prussians fell: the rival armies fired more than 40,000 cannon shot.

A fatal dysentery now prevailed in the Prussian camp; hundreds were dying in a day; thus situated, the King of Prussia opened a negociation; an exchange of prisoners followed, and a suspension of hostilities. While the French army had been thus successful under the command of the intrepid and skilful Dumouriez, three commissioners,‡ Sillery, Carra, and Prieur, arrived at the camp of Dumouriez, with the intelligence that the convention had abolished royalty, and constituted France a Republic. The circumstances attending which we shall next attend to.

The national convention was composed chiefly of the very dregs of the French nation; the excrescences of Jacobinism. The disgraceful proceedings we shall have to record, to adopt the words of a noble lord, (who a few years since held the seals,) "Were not the proceedings of the nation, but of a faction, who, by desperate acts, became the ruling power for a time; and deluded the understanding of the populace, and intimidated by the cruelty of their usurpation all whom they could not deceive."§

The first decree the convention passed was this: The

‡ Formerly the Marquis de Sillery, husband of the celebrated Madam de Genlis.

§ Lord Loughborough's speech in the House of Peers, on the Alien Bill.

national convention declares, that royalty is abolished in France. Collot d' Herbois, was the member who moved this decree, which was opposed by only two members, Quinette and Bazire. All state documents from the 20th of September, were dated the first year of the Republic. Another decree related to the formation of a new constitution, for which purpose a committee of twelve members were nominated. The convention voted Mr. Clarkson,‖ Mr. Wilberforce, Dr. Priestley,* the Rev. David Williams,‡ and Thomas Paine, members of the

‖ Author of several publications on the Slave Trade.

* Dr. Joseph Priestley, was a native of Yorkshire; after passing through his academical studies, he was appointed minister of Mill-hill Chapel, Leeds. The first Marquis of Lansdown, when Earl of Shelburne, was in peculiar habits of intimacy with Dr. Priestley, who was for many years a resident in his house. He afterwards went to Birmingham, where he presided over a congregation of Protestant Dissenters in that place; there he remained, pursuing his philosophical and theological studies, until July, 1791. Dr. Priestley had incurred the displeasure of the clergy, and the inhabitants of the established church, by some very intemperate and angry animadversions on the hierarchy. The riots which took place in consequence of the celebration of the destruction of the Bastille, through an *inflammatory hand-bill*, most industriously circulated, disgrace the page of English history. The mad voice of riot began in the region of mild philosophy, and at the very gate of science: yet it may form a just quere, Whether Dr. Priestley, by his imprudence, was not the *architect of his own misfortune?* The infuriated and intoxicated mob demolished his house, library, and exquisitely fine laboratory. After being pursued from town to town, he fled for refuge to Hackney, where he published a Letter, descriptive of his sufferings. He was afterwards appointed minister of the congregation at the Gravel-pit Meeting-house, in that opulent village. At length, he emigrated to America, where he died at Northumberland, in 1803. As a philosopher, Dr. Priestley would have done honor to any age or country, and have been justly ranked among the most illustrious of mankind. He was the Roger Bacon of the eighteenth century. His transcendant talents rendered him celebrated throughout Europe, and caused his name to be enrolled among the first learned societies in the world. As a chemist, his science was pre-eminent; but, as a theologian, his opinions were latitudinarian in the extreme, and were diametrically opposite to those doctrines generally received as the *essential* doctrines of Christianity. His writings on these subjects were ably answered by Dr. Horsley, the late Bishop of St. Asaph; and the Rev. Edward Burn, of Birmingham.

‡ This gentleman was originally a dissenting clergyman, first at Exeter, and afterward at Highgate, where he published, Discourses on Religious Hypocrisy, and some Essays on Public Worship. In 1776, upon the suggestion of Dr. Franklin, he opened the chapel in Margaret-street, Cavendish-square,† on the universal principles of Natural Religion. This system of worship nearly approximated to Deism. Mr. Williams had adopted a peculiar system of education, the elementary principles of which are deloped in his "Lectures on Education," 4 vols. He was

† Memoirs of the Rev. D. Williams, by Brissot, translated by Captain Morris.

convention. The three first declined the honor assigned them. Mr. Williams, the intimate friend of Brissot, paid a visit to Paris, to assist in framing the constitution; and Thomas Paine took his seat in the convention, and was appointed one of the committee.

When the soldiers of the army of Dumouriez had received the intelligence of the abolition of royalty, they unanimously shouted, *Vive le Liberte! Vive le Egalite!* The Prussians, in consequence of this transaction, viewed the truce as at an end, and commenced hostilities.

On September 20, General Montesquieu entered the territories of Savoy, appertaining to the King of Sardinia, and was received at Chamberry with the greatest marks of applause. General Anselm also took possession of Nice. The Austrians were defeated by General Custine, at Spires, which was captured; as was also Worms, Mentz, and Franckfort on the Maine; on this city Custine imposed a contribution of two millions of florins, and issued the following proclamation:

"The Prince of Hesse Cassel is at this time assembling legions of armed men. Does he not know that the day of judgment is come for every unjust prince; that another day is arriving, for the deliverance of the people who had been hood-winked by such despots? He is ranging round him those by whom he vainly hopes to strengthen his tottering throne; that portion of his subjects, the most pure of all, whose blood he sells to fill his treasury. This circumstance alone will decide the fate of such a tyrant. Monster! upon whom have accumulated, for a long time past, the clouds in a tempest, the curses of the Germanic empire; the tears of the widows, from whom thou hast pillaged the very bread; the cries of the orphans, whom thou hast rendered miserable; the soldiers,

a great admirer of the French revolution, and, as we have mentioned, was invited over by Brissot, and the Gironde party, to assist in drawing up the new constitution. Madame Roland has passed a high panegyric upon him in her "Appeal to Posterity." Mr. Williams was the founder of that excellent institution, "The Literary Fund." Besides the works we have mentioned, he has published, "Lectures on Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws;" "A History of Monmouthshire;" and Captain Morris, his biographer, assigns to him, the anonymous productions of, Lessons to a young Prince, Royal Recollections, and an Apology for professing the Religion of Nature in the eighteenth Century. Mr. Williams is still living.

whom thou hast abused, will deliver thee over to the just vengeance of the French. Flight will not now save thee from their hands; for how is it possible to find a people of the earth, who will grant an asylum to a tyger like thee?"

The Duke of Brunswick, on the first of October, left the camp of La Lune, and began to retreat through Grand Pré. In the course of the morning, the main body fell back about a league, the artillery and heavy baggage having been sent off before. This event was communicated to the minister of war by the following letter:

Copy of a letter from General Dumouriez, to the Minister at War.

"My dear Servan,

"The Prussians are in full retreat; the brave Bournonville, who has been christened the 'French Ajax,' has taken within these two days from them above four hundred men, more than fifty waggons, and above two hundred horses. By what we can learn from the prisoners and deserters, their army is wasted by fatigue, famine, and the bloody flux. The enemy march always by night, only going one or two leagues during the day-time to cover their baggage and artillery.

"I have reinforced Bournonville, who has above twenty thousand men, and who will not rest until he has exterminated them. This day I shall join and assist him. I have sent you copies of my correspondence with the enemy, which I have caused to be printed, that no suspicion may arise. I hope, if the troops have any confidence in me, to winter at Brussels. Assure the august assembly of the sovereign people, that I will not rest until I have rendered the tyrants incapable of doing us any further mischief. "DUMOURIEZ."

Bournonville pursued the Duke to Grand Pré, and made a great number of prisoners. General Valence also obliged Long and Verdun, which had been captured by the Prussians, to surrender.

During the late military operations of the Duke of Brunswick, which had so unfortunate a termination, Lisle had been besieged by the Austrian army under the

Duke of Saxe Teschen; Dumouriez dispatched Bournonville to the relief of that place, and the Austrians, after an immense loss, were obliged to raise the siege. The commandant Ruault, when summoned to surrender, replied, "We have just renewed our oath to die, if necessary, in defence of liberty and equality, and we do not mean to incur the guilt of perjury." Thirty thousand redhot balls, and six thousand bombs were thrown into the city.

While the French arms were thus triumphant over the Prussians, and the besieging army of the Austrians, General Custine, by the capture of spires and Worms, had been eminently successful in his operations on the Rhine, and would, probably, have advanced to Coblentz, had not Kellerman, his coadjutor suddenly retired into winter quarters. The dominions of Victor Amadeus, King of Sardinia, became the theatre of the glory of the French army; General Anselme† had taken Nice, and commenced the blockade of Montalban, which soon capitulated; as also Villa Franca, where a frigate and a sloop of war were stationed, and several magazines, filled with stores and pieces of ordnance, all of which fell into the hands of the conquerors; but having been defeated at Sospello, he was suspended, and sent prisoner to Paris.

Dumouriez, while at Paris, received instructions for the invasion of the Low Countries; having joined his army, he, previous to opening the campaign, ordered the following proclamation to be circulated though all the towns of Flanders:

"Brave Belgian Nation,

"You raised, before we did, the standard of liberty; but deceived by some of your fellow-citizens, in whom you placed confidence; misled by the perfidious insinuations of courts, to which you addressed yourselves, or

† General Anselme, previous to the revolution, had been colonel of the royal grenadiers, in 1791, he was made a *Marechal de Camp*. Although his campaign in Savoy had been brilliant, with the only exception of the check he had received at Sospello, Tallien moved, that he should be arrested; he was a short time sent to the Abbey, and imprisoned for a few months. He happily escaped the axe of the Guillotine, and lived retired the remainder of the revolution.‡

‡ Stevens's History of the Wars of the French Revolution, vol. 1.

which intermeddled in your affairs, merely to throw you into confusion, to embarrass your despot, and to deliver you afterwards to his vengeance; made a victim to the cruel and insidious policy of all the courts of Europe, and particularly to that of France, considering your liberty as the last blow given to despotism, which it wished to re-establish over us, you not only received no effectual assistance from your neighbours, the French, but you were ever abandoned and betrayed by them when they entered into your provinces.

"It was necessary that France should triumph over despotism, by pulling down royalty; it was necessary that it should establish itself into a republic; that it should triumph over the satellites of despotism; that their numerous armies should vanish before legions of freemen, and that they should be pursued to their own territories, before you should have perfect knowledge of the French Republic, and the armies which she sends to your relief.

"We shall immediately enter your territories; enter them to assist you to plant the tree of liberty, and will not, in any respect, interfere with that constitution which you may wish to adopt.

"Provided you establish the sovereignty of the people, and renounce living under any despot whatever, we will become your brethren, your friends, and your supporters; we will respect your property and your laws, and the most rigid discipline shall prevail in the French armies.

"We enter your provinces to pursue the barbarous Austrians, who have committed, in the department of the North, the most horrid atrocities. Our arms, while they are just, shall be severe, in order to avenge the violence and excesses of despotism. You also have injuries, crimes, and acts of violence to avenge. Unite yourselves to us, that we may not confound the Belgians with the Germans, in case you should through apathy suffer them to be masters of your cities, which we shall be obliged to bombard, and to burn, in order to destroy that barbarous horde, whom you may for ever expel, if you join your arms to ours.

"Belgians, we are brethren! Our cause is the same. You have given so many proofs of impatience under the

yoke, that we cannot entertain the least apprehension of being obliged to treat you as enemies.

"DUMOURIEZ."

The Austrians commanded by the Duke of Saxe Teschen, determined to adopt a defensive system. General Clairfayt had joined the Duke, who was now at the head of 25,000 men; while the French amounted to 32,000, besides a reinforcement ordered by Dumouriez, of 12,000 men, under General D'Harville. The first skirmish took place between the Belgic infantry who had flocked to the French standard, and the Austrians who were driven to Bousac; but suddenly rallying, they turned upon the assailants, and killed, or took prisoners, the whole of four companies.

On November 5, the French army halted within sight of the Austrians, who had obtained possession of the heights of Jemappe, on which they were entrenched in the form of an amphitheatre. Dumouriez disposed of his army as follows: Bournonville commanded the right wing; the young Duke of Chartres, the son of the infamous Orleans, (who had now adopted the name of Egalité,) the centre; and Marshals Fiera, Blottefiers, and Roziers, the left. The action commenced on the morning of November 6, with a dreadful cannonade. The Duke of Chartres had the Parisian volunteers under his command; they at first gave way owing to the dreadful havoc made by the Austrian cavalry, but they returned to the attack with redoubled ardor; a second time the French centre gave way, and the Austrians most imprudently left their entrenchments to pursue them; Dumouriez immediately took advantage of this error; by a fierce attack he turned the wings of the Austrian army, and got behind them in their entrenchments; the Parisian volunteers performed prodigies of valor, they marched up to the very muzzles of the guns, singing the *Marseillois Hymn!* The Austrians were at last compelled to abandon the field, flying in disorder towards Mons, having lost four thousand men, and a great part of their artillery. The French, according to Dumouriez's estimate, lost only 900 men.* Such was the fa-

* Mr. Perry asserts that the loss of the French was 2,000 men. Sketch of the French Revolution, vol. ii. p. 317.

mous battle of Jemappe, in which Dumouriez covered himself with glory. This victory decided the fate of the Netherlands. On the next morning the commander in chief entered Mons in triumph; and on the 14th Dumouriez was in possession of Brussels; when the magistrates presented the keys to him, he answered, saying, "He never took the keys but when he entered the country as an enemy." General Labourdonnage took possession of Malines, Ghent, and Antwerp; Louvain and Namur were taken by General Valence, who succeeded General Arthur Dillon.† The French were now in full possession of all the Low Countries, and the territories of the Bishopric of Liege, with the exception of the Duchy of Luxembourg. Dumouriez placed his troops in cantonments along the banks of the Meuse, making Aix la Chapelle the central point for assembling his army in case of necessity.

We shall now take a view of the proceedings of the convention, and transactions in the capital. The convention was divided into two great parties; the Gironde, or Brissotine; and the Jacobin, or Mountain, which had a considerable majority of members. The decree for abolishing royalty was a preliminary step to measures proposed to be adopted against the king personally. On November 7, a report was delivered with respect to certain papers which were to serve as proofs against Louis XVI. debates arose on the competency of the convention to bring the king to trial. M. Malasse urged the power of that body to sit as a tribunal upon Louis, while M. Morisson, eloquently contended for the inviolability of the king. *Mailhe* then made a report of the pretended

† General Arthur Dillon, was second son to the late Lord Viscount Dillon, (who died in 1787,) by Lady Charlotte Lee, sister to the Earl of Litchfield. He went over when a child to France; and was made colonel of an Irish regiment at eighteen years of age; he went through a rapid succession of military preferments. He married in 1769, the daughter of Count De Rothe, (a great favorite and Lady of the bedchamber to the late Queen of France;) this lady dying, he married in 1784, the widow of the late M. De la Touche. In the first national assembly he was appointed Deputy from Martinique. After being superceded by Valens, he became suspected; and during the reign of terror, was sentenced to suffer death. He was guillotined in 1794. General Dillon was an uncommon handsome figure, and possessed of the most polite and amiable manners; he had great military skill, and high personal courage. He distinguished himself at the taking of Grenada, St. Eustatia, &c. not more by his military prowess, than by his humane conduct to the English garrison and merchants settled there.

crimes alleged against the king, from concealed documents, as follows:

1. A receipt from Bouillé, dated Mayence, October 15, 1791, containing an account of the expenditure of the sum of 993 thousand livres issued for the formation of the camp at Montmedy. This money had been distributed amongst the following persons, viz. Monsieur, the Comte d'Artois, the Prince de Nassau, the Duc de Choiseul, Demandell, Bon, Hamilton, Lassale, Weyman, and several other general officers and private persons.

2. Another signed Choiseul-Stanville, attesting the receipt and distribution of 600,000 livres.

3. A letter stating that the diamonds of Madame Elizabeth had been transmitted on the 22d of June, 1791, to an officer of hussars, who had carried them to the brothers of the late king.

4. A paper proving that the editor of the "Postillon de la Guerre," (a newspaper) had received 8,000 livres from the civil list, and the "Logographe," no less than 60,000 livres, during the space of three months only.

5. A great number of letters, &c. &c. proving that Louis Capet was a monopolizer of corn, sugar, and coffee; these monopolies were made in foreign countries; the treasurer of the civil list superintended the business, and was ordered to advance to the amount of three millions.

6. A new order of chivalry, introduced under the name of "Chevaliers de la Reine;" the decoration of this order consisted of a medal, one side of which was adorned with a portrait of the queen; the other had this inscription: "*Magnum reginæ nomen adumbrat.*" Several persons had received this decoration, notwithstanding an express decree forbidding the creation of any new orders of chivalry.

7. A bundle of papers, which prove that a person of the name of Gilles had received 12,000 livres in order to pay a band of sixty men, against the express letter of the constitution, which forbids the king to raise or maintain any armed men without the permission of the legislature.

8. A carton full of proofs, that Louis Capet had continued the pay of such of his body guards as had emigrated to Coblentz; that a number of conspirators were constantly assembled at the Thuilleries, that Bouillé had

the audacity to repair thither since the invasion projected in 1791; and that, from the day that the *ci-devant* Comte d'Artois had been decreed to be in a state of accusation, Louis XVI. had assigned a pension of 200,000 livres to his children.

On the debate whether a decree of accusation should be pronounced against the king, Thomas Paine delivered the following speech:

"I think it necessary that Louis XVI. should be tried; not that this opinion has been suggested to me by a vindictive spirit, for nothing is farther from my character, but because that measure seems to me to be just, legal, and consistent with sound policy.

"If Louis XVI. is innocent, let us put it in his power to prove it; if he should be guilty, let the will of the nation determine whether he should be pardoned, or punished. But, besides the motives which are personal to Louis XVI. there are others that necessitate his trial. I shall unfold these motives in the language that appears to me to suit them, and in no other. I shall refrain from using equivocal expressions, and such as are merely words of ceremony.

"There has been formed a conspiracy of all the crowned heads of Europe, which threatened not only the liberties of France, but also those of all nations. We have every reason to believe, that Louis XVI. forms a part of that horde of conspirators; you have that man in your power, and he is hitherto the only one of his band that has been secured. I consider Louis the XVIth in the same point of view, as the two first robbers taken up in the affair of the jewel office; their trial enabled you to discover the gang to which they belonged. We have seen the unhappy soldiers of Austria, Prussia, and the other powers who declared themselves our enemies, taken from their families, and dragged to slaughter like vile animals, to defend, at the price of their blood, the common cause of these tyrants. The inhabitants of those regions have been loaded with taxes to defray the expences of the war.

"All this was not done for Louis XVI alone; some of the conspirators have acted openly; but there is reason to believe, that the conspiracy was formed of two classes, they who raised armies, and they who gave secret en-

couragement, and lent clandestine aid to their cause; and it is indispensably necessary to make known these accomplices to France, and to all Europe.

"Some time after the national convention had been constituted, the minister of foreign affairs presented the picture of all the governments of Europe; as well those whose hostilities were public, as those who acted with a mysterious circumspection. This picture gave room for just suspicions.

"Louis XVI. considered as an individual, is not worthy the attention of the republic; but, considered as forming a part of that conspiracy; as a person whose trial may lead all the nations of the world to know and to execrate the horrible system of monarchy, and the intrigues of courts, his case deserves investigation; for these reasons Louis XVI. ought to be put upon his trial.

"If the crimes alleged against him were merely personal, without reference to external conspiracies, and simply confined to the affairs of France, the foolish plea of inviolability might, perhaps, have some weight in his favor; yet not only against France has he conspired, but against all Europe; it is, therefore, particularly interesting to discover the full extent of this conspiracy. France, although now a republic, cannot reap all the advantages of that free system, whilst she is surrounded by despotic governments; it is necessary then, from the example of Louis, to prove the evils of despotism.

"A combination of despots, trembling for themselves have armed against France; she has already vanquished their armies; it now remains to expose the particulars of this confederacy, to discover and point out these infamous despots; this is an act of justice, and the universe demands it at her hands.

"These were the motives which induced him to recommend the trial of Louis; and only under this point of view did he consider his trial as meriting the attention of the republic."

On the adjourned consideration of this momentous subject, Barbaroux was for the case of Louis XVI. being put to issue, and that in three days he should be bound to bring forward the means of his defence. Petion de-

manded that the assembly should previously declare, whether the king could be tried? and who should be his judges? Lacoste St. Andre, and Robespierre, were for immediate punishment, without any trial. Bazino, however, proposed, that the king should be tried by the convention, which was decreed accordingly.

December the 11th was the day fixed for the appearance of Louis at the bar of the convention; he was escorted from the Temple by a battalion of infantry, two troops of horse, and six pieces of artillery. He rode in the coach of Chambon, mayor of Paris. The king was conducted to the bar by two municipal officers, dressed in their scarfs; a chair was brought to him, and he sat down while the act of accusation was read. His majesty behaved with a firm and dignified composure. When the first article was recited, charging him with committing an outrage against the sovereignty of the people on June 20, 1789, by suspending the assemblies of its representatives, and driving them away by force. He answered, "I acted against no law then in existence."

To the second charge, that on June 23, 1789, he attempted to impose laws upon the nation, by surrounding the sitting of the constituent assembly with troops. To this he gave the same answer as the preceding.

To the third charge, namely, that he had ordered an army to march against the citizens of Paris to shed their blood; that he did not withdraw his troops till the Bastille was taken; and that he ordered the massacre at the Thuilleries. He replied, "I had, at that time, the power to employ my troops where I thought the circumstances required; but I never had any intention to shed blood."

To the fourth charge, for not giving his sanction to the decrees of the assembly, and that he permitted the national cockade to be trampled under foot, and ordered the white cockade to be hoisted at the festival at Versailles, given to the Flanders regiment. The king answered, "I made the observations which occurred to me, as just and necessary upon the decrees presented to me: the charge respecting the cockade is false; I was witness to no such scene."

To the fifth charge, which stated, that he corrupted the public mind through the agency of *Talon*, in Paris; and Mirabeau, in the provinces; and lavished millions

for this purpose. He replied, "I do not exactly remember what passed at that time; but all these are circumstances which occurred previously to my accepting the constitution." To a query, Whether it was not in consequence of a plan formed by Talon, that he went to the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, and distributed money among the poor workmen, and telling them he could do no more for them? He answered, "I had no greater satisfaction than in giving to those who required relief; in this I had no insidious design." To another question, Whether he did not feign an indisposition to prepare the public mind for his journey to St. Cloud? Louis said, "This accusation is quite absurd."

To the sixth accusation, that he had long meditated the design of escaping; and that he ordered Bouille to assist him with an armed force, facts founded on a memorial presented to him on February 23, 1791. "I know nothing (answered Louis) of the memorial of the 23d of February; with respect to my journey to Varennes, I refer to the answer I at that time made to the constituent assembly."

To the seventh charge, that the blood of the citizens was shed in the *Champ des Mars*, &c. The reply was, "What passed on the 17th of July cannot be attributed to me; as to the other charges, I have no knowledge of them."

To the next charge, with respect to the convention at Pilnitz, Louis answered, "I made it known, as soon as I knew it myself; besides, by the constitution, it was the business of the ministers."

The ninth accusation, that he had fomented an insurrection at Arles, by sending commissioners, he answered, "The commissioners' instructions will evince the nature of the orders with which they were instructed; I knew none of the commissioners when my ministers proposed them to me."

The tenth charge related, that the king had not reunited Avignon and Venaissin not until a month after the decree had been issued. "That charge cannot personally affect me, (said the king,) I know not what delay attended the execution of the decree, but those who were entrusted with it are responsible."

The next article was expressive of Louis's connivance at the violent commotions at Nismes, and elsewhere; to

which he answered, " I gave the orders upon that occasion which were proposed to me by my minister.

The eleventh charge stated, that two battalions were sent against the Marseillois, when marching against the counter-revolutionists; the royal answer was, " I must see the papers which regard this affair, before I can answer to the charge."

The twelfth charge respected a letter from the king to Weigenstein; he answered, " This letter, by the statement of the charge, is posterior to his recal. He has never been employed since I recollect nothing of the letter."

The thirteenth article was concerning the payment of the disbanded body guard at Coblentz; Louis replied, " I no sooner received intelligence that my body guards had assembled in the neighbourhood of the Rhine, than I ordered their pay to be stopped; I remember nothing respecting the rest."

The fourteenth charge respected his correspondence with, and encouragement of, the emigrants, as evidenced by a letter in the hand-writing of his brother, Louis Stanislaus Xavier; to which the king answered, " As soon as I heard of my brother's proceedings, I disavowed them as the constitution prescribes; I have none of their letters."

The following charge was respecting neglect in augmenting the army; the answer was, " I gave to the minister the orders necessary for the augmentation of the army; the statements were laid before the assembly, if there were errors in them, they were no faults of mine."

After numerous other questions, to which the king made adequate replies, the convention decreed, that Louis should be allowed counsel, and his Majesty immediately selected Messrs. Fonchet, Malsherbes, and De Seze.

On December 26, the king appeared for the last time at the bar, when De Seze delivered a defence, replete with sound argument and brilliant eloquence. At the close of the defence the king arose, and with a firm voice, and in a dignified manner, said:

" Citizens,

" You have heard my defence; I now speak to you, perhaps, for the last time, and declare that my counsel

have asserted nothing but the truth; my conscience reproaches me with nothing; I never was afraid of having my conduct investigated; but I have observed with great uneasiness, that I was accused of giving orders for shedding the blood of the people on the 10th of August. The proofs I have given through my whole life of the contrary disposition, I hoped would have saved me from such an imputation, which, I now solemnly declare, is entirely groundless."

The president then presented Louis with a note, and begged to be informed, whether he knew the handwriting? He answered, "No." One of the secretaries gave him a bunch of keys, asking, if he recollected them? He took them, looked at them, and denied any knowledge of them. Those keys had been taken out of the pocket of a person to whom it *was said*, the king had privately conveyed them when he was going to prison.

When the king was informed that he might retire, his counsel withdrew also, and he was reconducted to the Temple. The convention then was agitated for many days successively, with the most tumultuous debates. The first question was put in these words: "Is Louis guilty of a conspiracy against the liberty of the nation, and of an attack upon the general safety of the state, Yes or No;" but of 745 members, 633 were for the affirmative simply; 26 were for the affirmative with observations, and 26 were absent. There being a majority against the king, the president declared, "That Louis Capet is guilty of a conspiracy against the liberty of the nation; and an attack upon the general safety of the state." Some members being disposed for having an appeal made to the people, the convention proceeded to divide on the subject; on casting up the numbers, it appeared that 424 were against an appeal, and 282 for it. The next question was, "What punishment ought to be inflicted on Louis Capet?" On this subject there was a great diversity of opinions, some were for immediate death, others for deferring it to a future period; while another party voted for perpetual imprisonment, or banishment: a fatal majority prevailed; the Jacobin faction voted for the death of the king. The president then announced the following decree, That the punishment to

be inflicted upon Louis was DEATH. The three defenders of Louis Capet were then admitted to the bar, when De Seze said,

"Representatives of the nation, the law and your decrees have conferred upon us the sacred administration of the defence of Louis. It is with grief that we this day come to exercise the last act of it. Louis has given us express directions to lay before you a writing, signed with his hand, and written by himself. It is as follows:

"I owe it to my honor not to recognize a sentence founded upon crimes which I cannot acknowledge, and which I have not committed. In consequence, I interject an appeal to the nation. I expressly give a commission to my advocates to make this appeal known by all the means in their power, and I demand an entry of it in your journals.

"If we did not bring forward this appeal in the defence we made for Louis, (added his defenders,) it is because we could not know that the convention would try Louis, or, if they tried him, that they would condemn him.

"Now, that we learn the fatal decree which condemns Louis, and that we are also informed that this decree is passed by a majority of so few votes only, permit us to observe to you, upon the principle that every thing should be softened; and since such strong remonstrances, and so great doubts have arisen on the necessity of an appeal to the people—nay, let us demand it of you, in the name of France, of your country, of humanity, to set a bound to your justice. Suspend the execution of a sentence which will appear terrible to France—let us demand of you, shall you not tremble yourselves, when it shall be known, that so great a sentence, a sentence which interests the fate of the republic, hangs only on *five votes?*"

The president informed the counsel, that the convention would take their requests into consideration.

The discussion of the question, Whether it would be proper to suspend the execution of the sentence passed against Louis Capet? was postponed until the following day, January 18; a long and tumultuous debate then took place respecting the votes decreeing the death of the king on the preceding day. It was

1793.

alleged, that the secretary had mistaken the votes, the whole of the members, therefore, voted over again; when the *appel nominal* was terminated, the president announced, that it was found that the sentence of death pronounced the preceding day upon Louis, had been carried by a majority, not of *five*, but of *twenty-seven* votes. In the absence of the president Vergniaud, Barrere took the chair: the convention proceeded now to the further discussion of the question, Whether the execution of the sentence should be delayed? Of 748 members, 17 were absent by commission, 21 through sickness, 8 without any assigned reason, 12 did not vote, 310 voted for delaying the execution of the sentence, and 380 against *delaying it*. The convention then ordered their decree to be immediately notified to the executive council, with orders to give an account on the morrow at eleven o'clock, of the measures taken, *to put it in execution within twenty-four hours*. Among the members in favor of the respite was Thomas Paine. During the whole of this mournful transaction, nothing excited a greater degree of surprise, mingled with horror, than the atrocious conduct of Philip Egalite, the *ci-devant* Duke of Orleans; this execrable monster deliberately pronounced these words from the tribune; "Influenced by no consideration but that of performing my duty; convinced that all who have conspired, or, who shall hereafter conspire, against the sovereignty of the people, deserve death; I VOTE FOR DEATH." The assembly was petrified with horror at this unnatural conduct; one member started from his seat, and striking his hands together, exclaimed, "*Ah, le scelerate!*" "Oh, the wretch!" Louis alone was unmoved at this conduct, well knowing the depravity of his character.

After the order for the execution of the king had passed the assembly, Cambaceres arose, and thus addressed the members present: "Citizens, by pronouncing sentence of death against the *last king* of the French, you have done an act, the remembrance of which will not pass away, and which will be recorded by the *genius of immortality* in the annals of history. Public safety could alone prescribe to you that awful decree. Since it is passed, I stand up in the name of humanity, to call your attention to the person who is the object of it. Let us allow him every possible consolation, and let us take

proper measures to prevent the execution of the national will from being sullied with any stain; I move, therefore, the following propositions:

"1. The executive council shall be charged to notify the decree of death to Louis in the course of the day; to cause it to be executed within twenty-four hours *after it has been notified to him;* and to be careful that no insult be offered to the remains of Louis.

"2. The mayor, and municipal officers of Paris, shall be enjoined to suffer Louis to communicate freely with his family, and to have with him such priests as he may desire in his last moments."

These propositions were unanimously agreed to.

On Sunday, January 20, the minister of justice, and the president of the executive council, went to the Temple to the king, to whom the minister of justice said, "Louis, the executive council has been charged to notify to you the minutes of the national convention." Louis answered, by delivering into their hands the following paper:

"I demand a delay of three days, in order to make the necessary preparations to appear in the presence of God; I demand for that purpose, to send for and to see freely, the person whom I shall mention, M. Eschevaux de Fermont.

"I demand that this person be secured from all disturbance, from all apprehension, on account of the last offices of charity which he shall render me.

"I demand to be freed from that perpetual inspection which the council general has established over me for some months.

"I demand, in this interval, to be able to see my family as often as I shall request, and without witness.

"I would request, that the national convention would immediately proceed to deliberate on the fate of my family, and permit them to retire freely wherever they may think proper.

"I recommend to the nation all the persons who were attached to me; there are many of them who have expended all their fortunes to purchase places under the new government; and who having now lost their sole dependence, must be in circumstances of want. Among my pensio ners were many aged and indigent persons

who had no other means of support, except the pension which I gave them.

(Signed) "LOUIS."

Done at the Temple, Jan. 20, 1793.

Upon this paper being read, Cambaceres said, "Louis Capet has only made these demands, because they did not inform him of the decree passed yesterday on my propositions, in which the greater part of his requests are anticipated. I demand that we shall pass to the order of the day." Lacroix observed, that to grant a respite of three days, would be to revoke the decree made in the preceding sitting.

The unfortunate Louis being apprised that the requests he made were not granted, he prepared himself with firm and pious resignation for his approaching dissolution. M. Eschevaux Fermont, the Abbé Edgeworth, was unremitted in his devotional attention to a sovereign to whom he was attached by every tie of loyalty, religion, friendship, and affection. The parting with his family was an agonising scene; the queen hung around the neck of her consort in a delirium of grief; the princess royal grasped his hand; the dauphin embraced his knees; and madame Elizabeth bathed his feet with her tears. Edgeworth, with the volume of divine truth in his hand, endeavoured to ameliorate their anguish, himself overwhelmed with sorrow: with heart-bursting sighs he directed the view of the royal sufferers to the empereal regions above, and to a crown of glory reserved for him about to suffer, in the paradise of his God.

The night before the day appointed for his execution, the king slept with tranquillity. Louis called, upon awaking, for Clery his valet, to assist him in dressing. He heard mass, and received the communion; when prayers were ended, he said to his confessor, "How happy am I in having retained my faith in religion: Yes! I shall be enabled to shew them that I do not fear death."

A noise being heard at the door, the Abbé was agitated. He thought the fatal moment had already arrived. The king, without betraying the least emotion, maintained his usual serenity. It was the guards who resumed their posts. "Here they come, however;" said the king, calmly, on hearing some persons ascending the stairs.

It was the commissaries of the commune, with a priest at their head, called Jacques Roux. They came to announce that the hour was at hand. "It is enough," said the king, "I will join you directly; but I wish to pass a few moments alone with my confessor." They retired. His majesty shut the door, and said, falling on his knees, "All is consummated; give me your last benediction."

The municipal officers having arrived, the doors were thrown open, and the king said, with a firm voice, "*Marchons;*" "Let us go;" he stepped into the coach appointed to convey him to the *Place de Louis XV.* attended by Santerre, the Abbé Edgeworth, and *Roux*, a constitutional priest. Soon after the coach was driven off, a most affecting incident occurred: the dauphin having escaped from his keepers, ran down the stairs of the Temple, the sentinel at the bottom of the stairs stopped him, saying, "Where are you going, my dear, in such a hurry?" Pray, pray leave me alone, (said the young prince) I will go into the street, and fall on my knees, and beg the people not to kill my papa."

A profound silence reigned among the people all the way from the Temple to the *Place de Louis XV.* the whole streets were lined with national guards under arms. Nothing was heard but the sound of drums. His majesty continued reading with the utmost devotion, till the carriage stopped near the scaffold. The executioners having opened the door, the king said to the two *gendarmes*, "Gentlemen, I recommend M. Edgeworth to your protection." As they made no immediate answer, he added, with greater earnestness, "I conjure you to take care that no harm befall him after my death."

"Well, well, give yourself no further trouble; we shall take care of him." answered one of them, in a harsh and ironical tone of voice.

The king having thrown off his coat, was going to ascend the scaffold, when they seized his hands on purpose to tie them behind his back. As he was not prepared for this last insult, his first movement was to repel it with indignation; but M. Edgeworth, sensible that all resistance would be useless, and would expose the king to outrages still more violent, persuaded him into compliance, by saying, "Sire, this new humiliation is another circumstance in which your majesty's sufferings re-

sesemble those of that Saviour, who will soon be your recompence."

As he was mounting the scaffold, supported by the Abbé Edgeworth, this servant of God addressed the king in this sublime expression, "*Offspring of St. Louis, ascend to heaven!*"

As soon as he came upon the scaffold, advancing with a firm step, to the part which faced the palace, he desired the drums to cease, and was immediately obeyed, in spite of the orders that had been received. He then pronounced, with a voice loud enough to be heard at the gardens of the Thuilleries,

"I die innocent of all the crimes which have been "imputed to me. I forgive my enemies. I implore "God from the bottom of my heart to pardon them, and "not to take vengeance on the French nation for the "blood about to be shed——"

At this moment Santerre pushed furiously towards the drummers, and ordered the drums to beat without interruption; this was the signal for the executioners to lay hold of the monarch. When his hands were tying behind, Louis expressed some repugnancy; upon which his confessor observed, "That the Saviour of the world had submitted to the same indignity;" the king's countenance immediately exhibited the most placed resignation. While the king was preparing to lay his head on the block, the Abbé Edgeworth exclaimed, "Son of St. Louis, mount to heaven!" Louis having been placed on the Guillotine, the fatal axe fell, and severed his head from the body, which was held up in the usual manner to the populace.

Thus perished, by the hands of his subjects, Louis the Sixteenth, King of France and Navarre; a sovereign who, in the exercise of his regal prerogative, displayed an unwearied benevolent attention to the interests of his people. In private life his virtues shone with resplendent brilliancy. In the choice of his ministers Louis was especially unfortunate; and the pernicious counsels of the queen, were highly detrimental to his interest. Louis was too flexible in his disposition, and indecision marked his character; but it must be recollected that he lived in the worst of times, when men had been taught to despise legal authority, to scoff at social order, to doubt of the

existence of the Deity, and to ridicule the immortality of the soul. In such times a monarch of more energetic powers than Louis Sixteenth might have met with a similar fate.

The following comparative view of this unfortunate monarch and Charles the First, is from the pen of M. Necker, the minister of the former: "A free constitution, explained by the most solemn acts, marked out for him his obligations, and fixed his prerogatives, nevertheless, in contemptuous defiance of this constitution, he levied several taxes without the concurrence of the representatives of the nation; he compulsively exacted loans, and rigorously prosecuted those private individuals who refused to submit to this illegal demand: of his own authority he ordered several to be committed to prison; he sported with the lives and fortunes of a great number of citizens, by lawlessly availing himself of his ascendancy over an unconstitutional tribunal, a tribunal composed of judges devoted to his interest; he had exceeded his power in the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs: and he was charged with many other infringements of the laws of his country. In short, hurried along by these circumstances, he put himself at the head of an army, and began a civil war, of which he fatally experienced the issue.—What affinity, what resemblance can be found between these several political delinquencies, and the conduct of a monarch who was the inheritor of a power of which the limits were unknown, and who met the introduction of liberty, with a voluntary sacrifice of a portion of those prerogatives of which the crown had remained possessed for such a number of centuries? And if we were to fix our attention upon the small space of time which has elapsed subsequently to the change of the government, we should perceive that Louis the Sixteenth, far from having violated, in any respect, the new constitutional laws, did no more than avail himself, *tremblingly avail himself*, of the right with which they invested him to refuse his sanction to the decrees of the legislative body; and never brought himself to the resolution of proceeding to such a length; excepting on the small number of occasions, when his timorous conscience imposed on him so severe a duty."

The present learned and eloquent Bishop of Llandaff, makes the following admirable remarks on the awful

event of the execution of the King of France: "I fly with terror and abhorrence, even from the altar of liberty, when I see it stained with the blood of the aged, of the innocents, of the defenceless sex, of the ministers of religion; and of the faithful adherents of a fallen monarch! My heart sinks within me, when I see it streaming with the blood of the monarch himself! Merciful God, strike speedily with deep contrition, and sincere remorse, the obdurate hearts of the relentless perpetrators and projectors of these horrid deeds, lest they should suddenly sink into eternal and extreme perdition, loaded with an unutterable weight of unrepented, and, except through the blood of him whose religion they reject, inexpiable sin.

"The monarch, you will tell me, was guilty of perfidy and perjury; I know not that he was guilty of either; but admitting that he was guilty of both; Who, alas! of the sons of men, is so confident in the strength of his own virtue, so assured of his own integrity, and intrepidity of character, as to be certain, that under similar temptations, he would not have been guilty of similar offences? Surely it would have been no diminution of the sternness of new republican virtue; no disgrace to the magnanimity of a great nation, if it had pardoned the perfidy which its own oppression had occasioned; if it had remitted the punishment of the perjury of the king to the tribunal of Him, by whom "kings reign, and princes decree justice." *

The sentiments which the last will of this amiable monarch developed are too excellent to be omitted.

"I recommend my soul to God my Creator, beseeching him to receive it in his mercy, and not to judge me according to my merits, but according to the merits of Jesus Christ our Lord, who offered himself as a sacrifice to God his Father for the human race, unworthy as we are, I myself in particular. I die in the communion of our Holy Mother, the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church, which holds its power by an uninterrupted succession from St. Peter, to whom Jesus Christ entrusted it. I finally believe all that is contained in the apostle's creed, and in the commandments of God and the church;

* Bishop of Landaff's Sermon at Charlotte-street Chapel. *Appendix.*

in the sacraments and mysteries, as the catholic church teaches and has always taught. I have never presumed to make myself a judge of the different manners of explaining the doctrines which divide the church of Jesus Christ, but I have always adhered to, and if it pleases God to prolong my life, shall always abide by, the decisions which the superior ecclesiastics, in union with the holy church, have given, according to the discipline observed since Jesus Christ. I lament, with my whole heart, those of my brethren of mankind who are in error, but do not presume to judge them; and I do not the less love them all in Jesus Christ, as christian charity enjoins. I implore God to pardon all my sins. I have endeavoured scrupulously to know them, to detest them, and to humble myself in the presence of the Almighty. Not having it in my power to avail myself of the ministry of a catholic priest, I pray God to receive the confession which I have made to him; above all, my deep repentance for having signed my name (although against my will) to acts contrary to the discipline and belief of the catholic church, to which my heart has ever been sincerely united. I beseech God to accept my firm resolution of taking the first opportunity in my power of making a full confession of my sins to a catholic priest, and of receiving the sacrament of penitence. I beg all those whom I have offended, through inadvertency, (for I do not recollect having ever intentionally offended any one) and also those to whom I may have given a bad example, to forgive me for the evil which such conduct may have produced. I beseech all those who are endowed with charity, to join their prayers with mine, to obtain of God the pardon of my iniquities. I pardon, with my whole heart, those who have become my enemies without cause, and I pray God to pardon them; as also those who, from false or mistaken zeal, have done me the greatest injuries.

"I recommend to God my wife, my children, my sister, my aunts, my brothers, and all those who are attached to me by the ties of blood, or in any manner whatsoever. I earnestly intreat of God to cast the eyes of mercy on my wife, my children, and my sister, who have for a long time suffered with me; and, in case of their losing me, that he may be their support and

consolation, as long as they shall remain in this perishable world.

"I recommend my children to my wife. I never doubted of her maternal tenderness; and I recommend, above all, that she will carefully endeavour to make them good Christians; to teach them to consider worldly grandeur as dangerous and perishable, and to fix their minds on eternity, where alone solid and lasting glory is to be found. I entreat my sister to continue her tenderness to my children, and that she will be to them as a parent, if they should have the misfortune to lose their mother. I beseech my wife to forgive me all those hardships she has undergone on my account, and all the uneasiness I may have given her in the course of our union; and if she should think that she has any cause to reproach herself on account of any part of her conduct towards me, she may rest assured that I retain nothing on my mind unfavorable to her.

"I recommend, with the greatest earnestness, to my children, after what they owe to God, which must ever be considered as their first duty, to remain always united to each other, submissive and obedient to their mother, and grateful for the pains and care she has taken of them; and I conjure them, for my sake, that they will respect their aunt as a second mother.

"If my son should ever have the misfortune to be established on the throne, I anxiously recommend that he should devote himself to the happiness of his countrymen; that he ought to divest himself of all resentment and animosities, particularly those which have a reference to my misfortunes and miseries. He can insure the happiness of the people only by reigning according to the laws; although at the same time, a king cannot make himself respected, and do all the good which is in his heart, without a necessary degree of authority; without which he must be confined in his operations; and when he cannot inspire respect, he necessarily becomes more hurtful than useful.

"I recommend to my son, to take care of all those persons who have been attached to me as far as the circumstances in which he may find himself shall afford him opportunity. He ought ever to regard this as a sacred debt which I have contracted towards the chil-

dren, or parents, of those who perished for my sake, or have been rendered miserable on my account. I know there are several persons, amongst those who were attached to me, who have not behaved towards me as they ought to have done, and who have even shown ingratitude: but I forgive them (for in times of trouble and effervescence, men are not always masters of their conduct); and I beseech my son, should he find an opportunity of serving them, to reflect only upon their misfortunes.

"I wish it were in my power openly to express my gratitude to all who have shown me a truly disinterested attachment: but if I have been painfully affected by the ingratitude and disloyalty of those to whom I have always acted with kindness, I have likewise had the consolation of receiving services and strong marks of attachment from several of my subjects, on whom I had never bestowed any favor. I beg that all those persons will accept my grateful acknowledgments. In the present situation of things, I fear that I should injure them by being more explicit on this subject: but I particularly exhort my son to seek opportunities of making them a suitable return. I think, however, that it would be calumniating the nation to express any fear of openly recommending to my son, M. de Chamilly, and M. Hue, whose sincere attachment to me has induced them to shut themselves up along with me in this melancholy abode, and who have frequently been in danger of becoming victims to their generosity. I also recommend to him Clery, with whose attention I have had every reason to be satisfied since he has been with me; and as he has remained with me to the last, I beg the commune to give to him my clothes, my books, my watch, my money, and all the other effects belonging to me, which have been deposited in the hands of the council of commune.

"I most willingly pardon those who have guarded me, for the harshness of their conduct, and the constraint which they thought necessary to impose upon me. I have found in the Temple some persons of feeling and humanity; may they long enjoy that serenity of mind such dispositions naturally produce.

"I beseech Messrs. De Malesherbes, Tronchet, and Deseze, to receive my most grateful thanks, and cordial acknowledgments, for the pains they have taken for me.

"I conclude, by declaring before God, being ready to appear in his presence, that I do not reproach myself with any of those crimes which have been charged against me.

"LOUIS."

HISTORY

OF

THE WARS

resulting from the

French Revolution.

BOOK I.

FROM THE EXECUTION OF LOUIS XVI. TO THE ELEVATION OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE TO THE CONSULAR DIGNITY.

CHAP. I.

Assassination of St. Fargeau. State of Paris, and of Parties, after the King's Execution. Official Note of the Executive Power of France to the British Ministry. Correspondence between Lord Grenville and M. Chauvelin.

THE convention was sitting when the execution of Louis took place; the report was officially made by the president of the council, that the law had been executed respecting him. Louis had addressed a note to the assembly, requesting that his body might be buried in the cathedral church of Sens, close to his father; his wishes were, however, not complied with: for the royal body was deposited in the cementery of St. Magdalene, an unfinished church in the same section as the place of Louis XV. and was ordered to be covered one foot thick with quick-lime. 1793.

The convention was thrown into confusion, by the announcing of the assassination of one of its distinguished members, Pelletier Saint Fargeau. The following circumstances relative to this event, were related to the assembly by M. Maure: "I was dining yesterday in the garden *d' l' Egalité*, in a coffee-house; six persons came from an adjoining apartment, and one of them said. 'There is that scoundrel Pelletier Saint Fargeau;' 'my name is Pelletier, (replied the deputy,) but I am not a scoundrel.' 'Did you not vote for the death of the king?' 'Yes, I did; but that was a duty imposed upon me by my conscience.' Scarcely had he pronounced these words, when Paris thrust his sabre into the lower part of his belly, which occasioned a large and deep wound. Saint Fargeau, requested that no hurt might be done to the assassin, he even had the courage to draw up an account of the manner in which the crime to which he fell a victim was committed. He was carried to his father's house in the *Place Vendôme*, where he expired, wishing that his death might be useful to the Republic." After this recital, Drouet, the ex-mayor of Varennes, who arrested Louis in his flight, informed the convention, that he had received a letter, threatening him with assassination.

Saint Fargeau was assassinated by an antient lieutenant of the king's body guard. The convention decreed to attend the funeral of this deputy, "assassinated for having voted the death of the tyrant," in a body; that his remains should be deposited in the Pantheon; and a description of the murderer sent to the eighty-four departments. The corpse, with the fatal wound in view, was carried on a raised couch, twelve feet high, and borne by twenty-four persons who had been engaged in destroying the Bastille. When the body arrived at the place of interment, it was hailed by a burst of vocal and instrumental music from the gallery of the building, which produced a sublime effect. Pelletier the younger, made a funeral oration, at the close of which he *fell on the dead body.*

On February 5, Tallien announced in the convention, that Paris had been apprehended, and that papers of a very dangerous nature were found upon his person.

The situation of the French capital at this time was very critical, the whole of the Brissotine party was ad-

verse to the death of the king; Dumouriez had hastened to Paris to prevent, if possible, such an event; but all his efforts were abortive, he himself was suspected of being a royalist. The influence of the Girondists was daily decreasing. The government of the country was in the hands of the convention, the majority of which was composed of furious Jacobins, who were as great enemies to federal government as to monarchy. The army was under the guidance of, and devoted to, the convention. In addition to the Jacobin society, another had arisen equally dangerous, denominated, "The Cordeliers," which had great sway over the public counsels; *Danton* and *Camile Desmoulins*, were the chief leaders of this democratic club; the members of this society were peculiarly inimical to Dumouriez, whom they designated as the friend of young Orleans, and Roland, the minister of the home department. Thus, from the state of parties in the metropolis, it might be augured that some momentous events were about to take place, and that the flames of war would be kindled with redoubled fury.

After the dreadful massacres of the 10th of August, and the 2d and 3d of September, the British cabinet refused to acknowledge M. Chauvelin as the accredited plenipotentiary from the executive council of the French Republic, and suspended all communication with France. The decree of the national convention on November 19, 1792, had created the most lively emotions of jealousy among the continental powers, and in England also; this declaration was couched in the following terms: "Decree of Fraternity. The National Convention declares, in the name of the French nation, that it will grant fraternity and assistance to all people who wish to recover their liberty; and it charges the executive power to send the necessary orders to the generals, to give assistance to such people; and to defend those citizens who have suffered, or may suffer, in the cause of liberty." It was resolved, "That this decree should be translated and printed in all languages."

In adverting to the above decree, Lord Grenville, in a letter to Chauvelin, observed, "That all England saw in the expressions of that decree, the formal declaration of a design, to extend universally the new principles of

government adopted in France, and to encourage disorder in all countries, even those which are neutral; if this interpretation could admit of any doubt, it was too well justified by the conduct of the convention itself. The application of those principles to his Britannic Majesty's dominions, had been shewn unequivocally by the public reception given to the promoters of sedition in England, and by the speeches made to them precisely at the time of this decree, and on several different occasions."

The convention had caused the executive council to decree, the free navigation of the Scheldt and Meuse. The British minister animadverting upon this measure, observed, "That it was brought forward only for the purpose of insulting the allies of England, by the infraction of their neutrality; and by the violation of their rights, which the faith of treaties, which England was obliged to maintain; France could have no right to annul the stipulations relative to the Scheldt, unless she had also the right to set aside equally all the other treaties, between all the powers of Europe, and all the other rights of England, or of her allies. She could have no pretence to interfere in the question of opening the Scheldt, unless she was the Sovereign of the Low Countries; or, had the right to dictate laws to all Europe." It was added, by Lord Grenville, "That England never will consent, that France shall arrogate the power of annulling, at her pleasure, and under pretence of a pretended natural right, of which she makes herself the only judge, the political system of Europe, established by solemn treaties, and warranted by the consent of all the powers. This government adhering to the maxims which it has followed for more than a century, will also never see with indifference, that France shall make herself, either directly or indirectly, Sovereign of the Low Countries; or general arbitress of the rights and liberties of Europe. If France is really desirous of maintaining friendship and peace with England, she must show herself disposed to renounce her views of aggression and aggrandisement, and to confine herself within her own territory; without insulting other governments; without disturbing their tranquillity; without violating their rights."

In reply to the observations of Lord Grenville, the

executive power of France transmitted the following answer to the British ministry:

Paris, January 4, 1793.
Second Year of the Republic.

"The provisional executive council of the French Republic, before they reply more particularly to each of the points comprehended in the note remitted to them on the part of the minister of his Britannic Majesty, will begin by repeating to those ministers the most express assurance of their sincere desire to maintain peace and harmony between France and England. The sentiments of the French nation toward the English, have been manifested during the whole course of the French revolution, in so constant, so unanimous a manner, that there cannot remain the smallest doubt of the esteem which it shows to them, and of its desire to have them for friends.

"It is then with great reluctance, that the Republic would see itself forced to a rupture, much more contrary to its inclination than to its interests. Before it proceeds to such a disagreeable extremity, explanations are necessary; and the object of them is so highly important, that the Executive Council have not thought that they could intrust them to a secret agent, always to be disavowed. For this reason they have thought proper, under every point of view, to entrust them to Citizen Chauvelin, though he is not accredited to his Britannic Majesty but from the late king.

The opinion of the Executive Council on this occasion is justified by the manner in which our negotiations are at the same time carried on in Spain, where Citizen Bourgoign was exactly in the same situation as Citizen Chauvelin at London; which, however, has not prevented the ministers of the Catholic King from treating with him on a convention of neutrality, the ratification of which is to be exchanged at Paris, between the minister for foreign affairs, and the *chargé des affaires* of Spain. We will even add, that the principal minister of his Catholic Majesty, when writing officially on this subject to Citizen Bourgoign, did not forget to give him his title of Minister Plenipotentiary of France. The example of a power of the first rank, such as Spain, might have induced the Executive Council to hope that we should have found

the same facility at London. The Executive Council, however, readily acknowledge that this demand of negotiation has not all the diplomatic rigours, and that Citizen Chauvelin is not formally enough authorized. To remove entirely this obstacle, and that they may not have to reproach themselves with having stopt, by a simple defect in form, a negotiation on the success of which depends the tranquillity of two great nations, they have sent to Citizen Chauvelin credential letters, which will give him the means of treating according to all the severity of diplomatic forms.

"To proceed now to the three points which can alone form an object of difficulty with the court of London, the Executive Council observe on the first, that is to say, the decree of November 19, that we have been misunderstood by the ministers of his Britannic Majesty, when they accuse us of having given an explanation, which announces to *the seditous of all nations*, what are the cases in which they may depend, before-hand, on the succour and support of France. Nothing can be more foreign to the sentiments of the National Convention, and to this explanation which we have given, than this reproach; and we did not think it was possible that the open design of favoring seditious persons could be imputed to us, at a moment even when we declared, 'that it would be doing an injury to the National Convention to ascribe to them the plan of protecting insurrections and seditious commotions, which might arise in any corner of the state; of associating with the authors of them; and thus of making the cause of a few individuals that of the French nation.'

"We have said, and we choose to repeat it, that the decree of November 19, could not be applicable, but to the single case where the general will of a nation, clearly and unequivocally expressed, should call for the assistance and fraternity of the French nation. Sedition can certainly never exist, when there is an expression of the general will; these two ideas mutually exclude each other; for sedition is, and can only be, a commotion of a small number against the majority of a nation; and this commotion would cease to be seditious, if all the members of a society, should arise at once, either to correct their government, to change its form entirely, or to accomplish any other object. The Dutch were certainly

not seditious when they formed the generous resolution of throwing off the Spanish yoke; and when the general will of that nation called on the assistance of France, it was not accounted a crime to Henry IV. nor to Queen Elizabeth, that they listened to them. A knowledge of the general will is the only basis of transactions between nations; and we cannot treat with any government, but because that government is supposed to be the organ of the general will of the nation to which it belongs. When by this natural interpretation, therefore, the decree of November 19th, is reduced to its real signification; it will be found that it announces nothing more than an act of the general will above all contest; and so founded in right, that it was not worth while to express it. For this reason, the Executive Council think that the evidence of this right might have, perhaps, rendered it unnecessary for the National Convention to make it the object of a particular decree; but with the preceding interpretation it cannot give offence to any nation.

"It appears, that the ministers of his Britannic Majesty have made no objections under the declaration respecting Holland; since their only observation on this subject, relates to the discussion concerning the Scheldt it is on this last point, therefore, that we propose to give an explanation. We here repeat, that this question itself is of little importance. The British ministers thence conclude, that it is, therefore, more evident that it has been brought forward only for the purpose of insulting the allies of England. We reply, with much less warmth and prejudice, that this question is absolutely indfferent to England; that it is little interesting to Holland; but that it is of the utmost importance to the Belgians. That it is indifferent to England, does not even require to be proved. It is little interesting to Holland, since the productions of the Belgic Netherland can be conveyed through the canals which end at Ostend; but it is of great importance for the Belgians, on account of the numerous advantages which they may derive from the port of Antwerp. It is, therefore, on account of this importance, to restore to the Belgians the enjoyment of a valuable right, and not to offend any one, that France has declared, that she is ready to support them in the exercise of that right.

"But is France authorized to break stipulations which

oppose the opening of the Scheldt? If we confess the right of nature, and not of nations, not only France, but all the nations of Europe, are authorized to break them; no doubt can remain on this point. If public right is consulted, we say that it ought never to be, but the application of the principles of the general right of nations to the particular circumstances in which nations may be in respect to each other; so that every private treaty might violate these principles, could never be considered but as the work of violence. We will next add, that in regard to the Scheldt, the treaty was concluded with the participation of the Belgians. The Emperor, to secure the possession of the Netherlands, sacrificed, with scruple, the most inviolable of rights. Being master of these beautiful provinces, he governed them, as Europe has seen, with a rod of absolute despotism. respected none of their privileges but those which were of importance for him to preserve, and continually attacked or destroyed the rest. France entering into a war with the house of Austria, expels it from the Low Countries, and restores liberty to those people whom the court of Vienna had devoted to slavery. Their chains are broken; they are restored to all those rights which the house of Austria had taken from them. How can that right which they had over the Scheldt be excepted, especially when it is of real importance only to those who were deprived of it? In short, France has too good a profession of political faith to make, to be afraid of avowing its principles. The Executive Council declares then, not that it may appear to yield to some expressions of threatening language, but only to render homage to truth, that the French Republic does not mean to establish itself an universal arbiter of the treaties which bind nations together. It equally knows to respect other governments as to take care that it may make its own be respected. It does not wish to give law to any one, and it will never suffer any one to give laws to it. It has renounced, and still renounces all conquest: and its occupying the Netherlands will continue no longer than the war, and during that time, which may be necessary for the Belgians to secure and consolidate their liberty; after which, provided they be independent or happy, France will finds its reward.

"When that nation shall find itself in the full possession of its liberty, and when its general will may be declared legally and unfettered, then if England and Holland still affix any importance to the opening of the Scheldt, the Executive Council will leave that affair to a direct negotiation with the Belgians. If the Belgians, through any motive whatever, shall consent to deprive themselves of the navigation of the Scheldt, France will not oppose it. It will respect their independence even in their errors.

"After so free a declaration, which manifests the present designs of peace, the ministers of his Britannic Majesty ought to entertain no doubt respecting the intentions of France. But if these explanations appear to them insufficient, and if we are still obliged to bear the language of haughtiness, and if hostile preparations are continued in the ports of England, after having done every thing in our power to maintain peace, we will prepare for war; conscious at least of the justice of our cause, and of the efforts we have made to avoid that extremity. We shall combat with regret the English, whom we esteem, but we shall combat them without fear. (Signed)

"LE BRUN."†

Lord Grenville in a letter to M. Chauvelin, dated January 18, stated that the elucidation contained in the above official paper, was in no respect satisfactory. That the menace of war with Great Britain, on account of those due precautions she had taken for her own safety, was a new cause of offence; his lordship closed, by assuring him, that under existing circumstances, Great Britain would continue to adopt such measures as were requisite for protecting the tranquillity and rights of the country, and those of her allies; and for placing a barrier against those views of aggrandisement so dangerous, and supported by principles subversive of social order.

M. Chauvelin pressing the British ministry to receive his credentials as accredited Ambassador from the French Republic, received the following answer:

† Collection of State Papers. 1794.

Whitehall, January 20, 1793.

"SIR,

"I have received your letter of the 17th instant. I have already apprised you that his Majesty has reserved to himself the right of deciding according to his judgment upon the two questions of acknowledging a New Form of Government in France, and of receiving a Minister accredited on the part of some other authority in France, than that of his Most Christian Majesty. In answer to the demand you now make, whether his Majesty will receive your new letters of credence, I have to inform you, that under the present circumstances, his Majesty does not think proper to receive them.

"The request you make of me is equally incompatible with the form of an extra official communication, and that character in which you have hitherto been known, as Minister of his Most Christian Majesty.

"Nothing then remains for me to say, relative to the subject of your former letter, particularly after what has just happened in France, than to inform you, that as an agent charged with a confidential communication, you ought certainly to have attended to the necessary measures taken by us, to secure your letters and couriers, that as minister of his Most Christian Majesty, you would have enjoyed all those exemptions which the law affords to public ministers, properly acknowledged as such; but that as an individual, you can only be considered among the general mass of foreigners resident in England.

(Signed) "GRENVILLE."

As soon as intelligence had arrived of the execution of the king, the following letter was sent to M. Chauvelin, ordering him out of the country:

Whitehall, January 24, 1793.

"I am charged to notify to you, Sir, that the character with which you had been invested in this court, and the functions of which you have been so long suspended, being *entirely terminated* by the fatal death of his Most Christian Majesty, you have no longer any public character here.

"The King can no longer, after such an event, permit your residence here. His Majesty has thought fit to order, that you should retire from this kingdom within

the term of eight days: and I herewith transmit to you a copy of the order which his Majesty, in his privy council, has given to this effect.

"I send you a passport for yourself and your suite; and I shall not fail to take all the other necessary steps, in order that you may return to France with all the attentions which are due to the character of Minister-Plenipotentiary from his Most Christian Majesty, which you have exercised at this court.

(Signed) "GRENVILLE."

CHAP. II.

War declared against England and Holland. Siege of Williamstadt. Battle of Nerwenden. Proclamation of the Municipality of Paris. Dumouriez arrests the Commissioners sent to apprehend him. Dumouriez deserted by his army. Congress at Antwerp.

THE Executive Council having been apprised of the dismissal of their minister at the court of St. James's; on January 30, Brissot made a report to the convention, in the name of the committee of general safety, wherein he insisted on the necessity of declaring war against England and Holland. In this report he stated, that England was determined on war. A most severe charge was fixed upon Great Britain of injustice, and ill treatment of the French Ambassador: he asserted, that an embargo had been laid upon the vessels laden with corn for France, contrary to the treaty of 1786; while corn was permitted to be exported to other countries. In the course of his speech Brissot exclaimed, "In the prosecution of this war, it is necessary that all Frenchmen should compose but one great army, and all France but one great camp!" The Stadtholder was also accused of favoring the emigrants during the whole course of the revolution; the convention, therefore, declared war against Holland, in conjunction with England.

In consequence of these proceedings of the convention, Mr. Secretary Dundas, presented to the House of Commons the following message, on February 11, which was immediately read by the Speaker:

GEORGE R.

"His Majesty thinks proper to acquaint the House of Commons, that the assembly now exercising the powers of government in France, have, without previous notice, directed acts of hostility to be committed against the persons and property of his Majesty's subjects, in breach of the law of nations, and of the most positive stipulations of treaty: and have since, on the most groundless pretensions, actually declared war against his Majesty, and the United Provinces. Under the circumstances of this wanton and unprovoked aggression, his Majesty has taken the necessary steps to maintain the honor of his crown, and to vindicate the rights of his people; and his Majesty relies, with confidence, on the firm and effectual support of the House of Commons; and on the zealous exertions of a brave and loyal people, in prosecuting a just and necessary war; and endeavouring, under Providence, to oppose an effectual barrier to the further progress of a system which strikes at the security and peace of all independent nations; and is pursued in open defiance of every principle of moderation, good faith, humanity, and justice.

"In a cause of such general concern, his Majesty has every reason to hope for the cordial co-operation of those powers who are united to his Majesty by the ties of alliance; or who feel an interest in preventing the extension of anarchy and confusion; and in contributing to the security and tranquillity of Europe.

"G. R."

France was now at war with England, Holland, Germany, Prussia, and Spain. Dumouriez had resumed the command of his army, consisting of sixty thousand men, who were collected at Antwerp. The general issued a proclamation to the Belgians, declaratory of his entering their territories, with the friendly design of rescuing them from oppression: and enabling them to form a government agreeable to their wishes. He then opened the campaign by dispatching Miranda to invest Maestricht, while he advanced to Breda, and Bergen-op-

Zoom. Breda, which was under the government of Count Byland, was chiefly inhabited by the *Dutch patriots*, as they were denominated, persons entirely disaffected to the Stadtholder; no sooner had it been summoned to surrender, and a slight bombardment commenced, than articles of capitulation were entered into, the gates thrown open, and the tricolored flag, the national standard of the French Republic, was seen proudly waving on the ramparts. Klundert surrendered two days after; the governor, who was a German, made a brave defence; but finding it impossible to defend the place he capitulated, and marched to Williamstadt; in his route he was unfortunately intercepted by a detachment of Batavians, and, in the unequal conflict, nobly fell.

The success of the French arms spread terror and consternation throughout the United Provinces; even at Amsterdam, the fall of Breda caused such exultation among the opponents of the Stadtholder, that the walls were covered with placards ridiculing the existing government, and extolling, in the most unqualified terms, the views and designs of the French General Bernefon, was now ordered to lay siege to Williamstadt, whilst D'Arcon proceeded against Gertruydenbergh; the former town was only a few miles distant from Rotterdam, and was defended by an old veteran and a faithful adherent to the Stadtholder, named Boetslaer. The French army was flushed with success and full of confidence, and they commenced a tremendous fire upon the town; for the relief of this place great exertions were made by the British ministry; a body of guards, under the command of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, sailed for Holland, with a number of gun-boats. The fortifications of the town were nearly impregnable, and it was surrounded by sluices, which it was found necessary to open, by which the whole of the adjacent country was inundated; the besiegers, with determined resolution, stood up to the middle in water for whole days, at a period when the season was peculiarly severe and inclement. Dumouriez, in person, made a grand attack, aided by a multitude of troops in gun-boats; but, both by land and by water the French were totally defeated. It scarcely need be added, that the siege of Williamstadt was raised, and the laurels of Dumouriez tarnished. Mi-

randa was also compelled to raise the siege of Maestricht.

General Clairfayt, on the first of March, having passed the Roer, attacked the French posts, and compelled them to retreat with the loss of two thousand men: and two days after, the French were defeated at Aix-la-Chapelle, with the loss of four thousand men killed, and sixteen hundred made prisoners: the Prince of Saxe Cobourg commanded the victorious army; and General Valence, that of the French, who were now compelled to abandon the banks of the Roer, and repass the Meuse. Miranda and Valence, having formed a junction, resolved to protect Liege, (which was the grand depot of the French, containing immense magazines,) until the arrival of Dumouriez, but were obliged, at length, to abandon it to the Austrians. The commander in chief having arrived from Williamstadt, both armies prepared for a general engagement; Valence commanded the right wing of the French, the young Duke of Orleans the centre, and Miranda the left. The battle was fought at Nerwinden, on March 18, and lasted from eight in the morning till five in the afternoon; the right wing and centre of the French compelled the Austrians to give way; but the left wing, commanded by Miranda, was thrown into confusion. The French, notwithstanding this circumstance, and General Valence being wounded, yet had victory in prospect, when Clairfayt, at the head of a fresh body of cavalry, made a vigorous attack, when a prodigious slaughter took place; and he gained a complete victory. In this grand battle three thousand of the French were either killed or taken prisoners, and more than one thousand wounded; while the loss of the Austrians did not exceed fourteen hundred. The French were again attacked at Louvain, and sustained considerable loss.

At the most critical period of this campaign, so fatal to the French, the national convention, and municipality of Paris, made strenuous exertions to reinforce the army; for which purpose the following proclamation was read, by beat of drum and sound of trumpet, in all the public places in Paris:

"To arms! Citizens, to arms! If you delay, all is lost. A great part of Belgia is wrested from us. Aix-la-Chapelle, Liege, Brussels, must, by this time, be in the power of the enemy. The heavy artillery, the baggage

and the treasure of the army is precipitately marching towards Valenciennes, the only city which can for a moment stop the enemy. All which cannot follow, must be in the Meuse. Dumouriez is making conquests in Holland; but if considerable forces do not support him, Dumouriez, and with him the flower of the French armies, may be swallowed up.

"Parisians! behold the greatness of the danger? Will you permit the enemy again to lay waste the land of liberty, and to burn your towns and villages?

"Parisians, it is against you in particular that this abominable war is directed: it is your wives and children that are to be massacred; it is Paris that is to be reduced to ashes. Recollect that the insolent Brunswick has positively sworn not to leave one stone upon another.

"Parisians, once more save the commonwealth! Give an example once more! Arise, arm, march, and these bands of slaves will again give way before you!

"It is necessary to make a great effort—a terrible stroke—a last blow! This campaign must decide the fate of the world! We must dismay—we must exterminate kings! Men of the 14th of July—of the 5th of October—men of the 10th of August, awake!

"Your brethren, your children, pursued by the enemy—surrounded perhaps, call to you! Your brethren, your children, massacred on the 10th of August, on the plains of Champagne, under the ruins of Lisle; your brethren slain at Jemappe—arise! they must be revenged!

"Let all the arms be carried into the sections; let every citizen meet there; let us swear to save our country; let us save it. Misfortune light on him who shall hesitate: let, to-morrow, thousands of men leave Paris: this is the deadly combat between men and kings—between bondage and liberty!

"PACHE, Mayor.
"COLOBEAU, Secretary."

The effects of the above proclamation produced an enrolment of eight thousand volunteers.

General Dumouriez had, in various instances, expressed his disapprobation of the conduct of the men who now governed France: the disasters which closed

the campaign in Holland were attributed to him; it was asserted in the convention, that he might have planted the tri-colored flag on the walls of Amsterdam; the friends of the general apprised him of the danger to which he was exposed. The convention ordered three commissioners to wait upon the general at the camp, where they found him, in company with the young Duke of Orleans, his *Gouvenanté*, Madam Sillerry,† and General Valence. He declared, with more intrepidity than *prudence*, that he was determined to dissolve the convention. The Jacobin commissioners hastened back to inform that assembly of the circumstance; they reported, that Dumouriez had exclaimed, "The Jacobins will ruin France! but I will save it, although they should call me a Cæsar, a Cromwell, or a Monk!" The convention decreed, that Bournonville, the minister of war, with four deputies from the assembly, Baneal, Camus, La Marque, and Quinette, should be sent to put him under arrest. The commissioners immediately proceeded to St. Amand, where the general had his head quarters, and were introduced to him on April 2; he received them with apparent politeness; but after expostulating with them, he took from them their swords, and sent them under a file of grenadiers to the Austrian General Clairfayt, to headquarters at Tournay, as hostages for the safety of the royal family.

When the commissioners read the decree to Dumouriez, he positively refused to comply with it, assuring them that there was a conspiracy to assassinate him. Quinelle and La Marque, offered to accompany him, but he cried out, "France must have a king." Camus, putting his hand to the hilt of his sword, replied, "If you wish to be a Cæsar, I can be a Brutus." Dumouriez then wished the commissioners to retire to Valenciennes; they, however, left the room for a short time, during which they drew up a decree, in virtue of the power delegated to them, suspending the general in chief, and appointing Valence his successor; upon their return, they addressed the general, saying, "Considering your disobedience to the law, we declare you to be suspended." Dumouriez immediately called out, "It is

† Better known as Madame Genlis, author of "Adelaide and Theodore;" "Tales of the Castle;" and other celebrated works.

time this farce should end; officers do your duty." Upon which they were all arrested. Bournonville, on his way to Tournay, sprung from the carriage, and with the first stroke of his sabre, cut down the commanding officer; but, receiving a wound on his thigh, he was overpowered, and replaced in the carriage. Clairfayt sent the commissioners, with the general, to separate dungeons, in the interior of Germany. Dumouriez dispatched Colonel Montjoye, to acquaint Colonel Mack with the arrest of the commissioners, and to appoint the time and place for a conference to conclude a treaty.

When the convention was informed of the defection of Dumouriez, and the arrest of the commissioners, the following address was drawn up to the Belgic army.

"Dumouriez has betrayed his country; that conspirator, for whom your valor has heretofore obtained triumph, the glory of which he attributed to himself, now only seeks to make you suffer defeats, of which he will let the shame light on you. He attempted to turn against liberty the arms that you took up only against tyranny. What! you Frenchmen, to threaten your country! You, to march against your friends, your brothers, your wives, and your children. No; you are not capable of that most atrocious of crimes. The champions of liberty cannot all at once have become the wretched satellites of an ambitious villain. Is it not at the voice of your country in danger, that you marched, and conquered? Is it not she that still demands your strength, and your arms? Her sacred voice shall vibrate to the bottom of your hearts; you will recollect your triumphs, and acquire fresh laurels. The representatives of the nation have this opinion of you, whose confidence and esteem you possess. They know you better than the perfidious chief who deceives you, in order to debase and destroy you. His audacious hand has violated the sovereignty of the people, in seizing those its representatives whom the national convention had sent to you. His crime is known; he wants to give us a king, his name is devoted to infamy, his head to the scaffold; avenge your glory and your country; give up the traitor: a civic crown is the reward that awaits you. French soldiers, if there could be among you men who did not remain faithful by the horror of treason, let them, at least, learn to be faithful by the fear of punishment. You are only the *advanced*

guard of the nation: she is *whole and entire* behind you, ready to protect with her power those who know how to serve her, and to crush with her thunder those who dare to be rebellious.

"The traitor Dumouriez has calumniated Paris, to enrage you against that city which had been the cradle, and ought to be the support of freedom. Paris is tranquil, and watches for the security of the representatives of the people; respects the laws; is ready to march her republican bands: he has represented the national convention as divided into two factions; he has taken advantage of some debates, which the ardent love of liberty, always jealous, especially in times of revolution, naturally excites among men charged with the interests of a great people.

"Republican soldiers, it is an act of perfidy on his part, to make you the blind instruments both of the annihilation of the convention, and of the re-establishment of royalty. The national convention is *one*, as well as the nation: it will maintain the indivisibility of the republic; it will rally round the standard of liberty, and will carry it, if need be, into your ranks; it unanimously takes an oath to die with you, or to extirpate conspirators, tyrants, and their followers."

If the convention had not even made use of this method of recalling the army to its duty; it is certain that Dumouriez, in the opposition he had made to the convention, was unsupported by his army, composed of men who had a rooted hatred to the very name of a king, and who had been exposing their lives for the Republic. The general wished to imitate Monk, but he was without his dissimulation. If Dumouriez wished to have restored monarchy and legal order, in France, (and he certainly had it in his power at this period,) he should have concealed his views and designs from his army; never should his lips have uttered the name of king; by his incautious expressions he overthrew the fabric he was endeavouring to raise; condemned the cause in which he had enlisted; strengthened the hands of the revolutionists, and became the architect of his own misfortunes, without the aid of the above animated proclamation, not a man in Dumouriez's army was inclined to desert the cause of the Republic, excepting the young Duke of Orleans,

General Valence, and a few officers; notwithstanding, Dumouriez, had he acted with profound policy, might have effected such a change in the existing government, as, most probably, would have paved the way for the re-establishment of royalty. The convention declared Dumouriez a traitor to the nation; outlawed him; and offered a reward of 100,000 livres, (12,500l.) and a full restoration of property to any emigrant who should destroy him. Fortunately, after a number of hair-breadth escapes, the ex-proscribed general arrived in safety at the head-quarters of Colonel Mack; here he drew up a proclamation for the Prince of Saxe-Cobourg, which was as follow:

TO THE FRENCH.

"The General in chief, Dumouriez, has communicated to me his declaration to the French nation. In it I find the sentiments and principles of a virtuous man, who truly loves his country, and who wishes to put an end to the calamities and anarchy by which it is desolated, by procuring for it the happiness of a constitution, and a wise and permanent government. I know this also to be the unanimous wish of all the sovereigns, whom some factious persons have caused to arm against France, and particularly that of his Majesty the Emperor, and his Prussian Majesty.

"Filled at this moment with esteem for the bulk of so great and generous a nation, to whom the immutable principles of honor and justice were held sacred, until by the repetition of outrages, disorders, and impostures, that part of it has been estranged and corrupted, which, under the mask of humanity and patriotism, speaks of nothing but assassinations and poniards. Knowing also that this is the wish of all virtuous people in France, profoundly penetrated with these great truths, and desiring nothing but the prosperity and glory of a country torn by so many convulsions and misfortunes.

"I declare by the present proclamation that I will support, by all the force in my power, the generous and beneficent intentions of the General in chief Dumouriez, and his brave army.

"I declare besides, that having lately fought us on several occasions, as a valiant, intrepid, and generous

enemy. I will join a part of my troops, should General Dumouriez desire it, or even all my army, to that of France, to co-operate as friends and companions in arms, worthy of reciprocal esteem, so as to restore to France her constitutional king, the constitution she has chosen, and as a necessary consequence, the means of perfecting it, if the nation should find it imperfect; thus to restore to France, as well as to the rest of Europe, peace, confidence, tranquillity, and happiness. I therefore declare, on my word of honor, that I will not enter the territory of France to make conquests, but simply and purely for the purposes above-mentioned.

"I further declare, on my word of honor, that should the military operations require one, or more fortresses to be given up to my troops, I will keep them merely as a sacred trust; and I engage, in the most express and positive terms, to restore them as soon as the government which shall be established in France, or the brave general with whom I am about to make a common cause, shall demand such a concession. I declare, that I will give the most strict orders, and will take the most rigorous and effectual measures, that my troops shall not commit the least disorder; not allowing the smallest exaction or violence; and respecting every where on the territory of France, persons and property. Any one belonging to my army who shall disobey my orders to this effect, shall be immediately punished with the most ignominious death.

"Given at the head quarters at Mons, the 5th of April, 1793.

THE PRINCE DE COBOURG."

The declaration referred to by the Prince of Cobourg, was an address of Dumouriez to the French nation, which he conveyed in a letter to the president of the national convention, which was as follows:

"The precautions taken by the national convention in decreeing, that nothing that I write should be read nor published, is a proof both of its absurdity, and want of patriotism. It appears, that the representatives are fearful, lest my reasonings should weaken the authority which they have arrogated to themselves over the French nation. They have good reason to fear them, for I will prove, and experience will assist me in doing so, that

they have entirely lost the advantages which the whole human race might have derived from a sublime revolution, which they have rendered hideous and frightful.

"You may, or may not, read my memorial, it will be of little consequence; but I declare to you, that you are wanting in your duty to the people, in endeavouring to hide from them the truths which I tell you. It is adding another crime to those you have already committed, and the nation will punish you for it, as it has done others.

"There is only one means of safety left, viz. That you should purge yourselves, in delivering up to the rigor of the laws, the disturbers of the public peace, and the assassins who sit among you; and after *having purged yourselves*, that you should have the courage to declare to the nation, that your authority is illegal; that you have exceeded your powers; and that you retire, in order to make room for other representatives, chosen, according to the constitution of 1789, 1790, and 1791, which is the only basis by which tranquillity and union can be restored in our country, which you desolate.

"Already, upon Danton's proposition have you decreed, that you would interfere no further in the government of your neighbours, among whom you might be obliged to carry arms. This, indeed, positively annuls your former decrees. But this repentance is too tardy, you would have saved yourselves had you made this recantation in the month of December, as I advised; you would have saved all, if to this measure you had added justice, and humanity to the unfortunate Louis XVI. I know that many among you have voted under the fear of the poignard. I know too, that three hundred and ten of you have been courageous enough to vote against that criminal atrocity.

"You have only one resource left. If you are Frenchmen, if you are citizens, sacrifice yourselves, and quit a post which you have so badly filled; and do not wait until every species of calamity unites in the destruction of this unfortunate monarchy; in delivering it up to the sword of foreigners, and to the fury of Jacobin scoundrels, who, in their extreme despair, seek to ruin France and themselves.

"This is the last advice I shall give you; you may

follow it voluntarily or forcibly; endeavour to make a merit of it, and for once dare to make the subjoined memorial public to the nation.

(Signed) "THE GENERAL DUMOURIEZ."

As this most *important* paper is of extreme length, we shall give a correct analysis of it. He begins it by declaring, That his desertion was occasioned by his intention of delivering his countrymen from the "sanguinary and criminal yoke of anarchy." But this intention failed by the "second proclamation;" which a superior authority from the Prince of Cobourg, and which by the error of the army, and the "disorganising system of the national assembly," caused the plans concerted with that general to miscarry. Reduced to pity his country, and unwilling to employ his talents in the dismemberment of it, he resolved to make use only of his pen to combat the Jacobins, and the anarchists, and to "crush them with the club of public opinion." Threatened with a thousand poignards by them, he hoped yet to enjoy his physical existence, until he had *morally* destroyed them. "This is the greatest service I can do to my nation, the greater part of which I know to be tired of the metaphysical deceptions of some, of the hideous plots of others, and of the crimes of all." Dumouriez admits, that subsequent to the tragical end of Louis XVI. the convention had arrogated to itself an aristocracy of crimes; that the moderate party in the assembly were constrained from the dread assassination, to join with the Mountain faction, and sanction decrees at once criminal and absurd. The ex-general then recounts the services he had rendered his country in 1792; as also when minister of war, when he had elevated, and sustained, the dignity of the French nation. He asserted his military skill, in arresting the progress of eighty thousand Prussians and Hessians, with a small army, without discipline or organisation; forcing the enemy to retreat, after the sacrifice of near one half of their army, for which he was stiled, "The saviour of his country." He then proceeds to notice the splendid battle of Jemappe, and the calumnies vomited forth against him by Marat, Robespierre, and Pache, the minister of war. After complaining of the injustice of the decree for arresting him, he vindicates his conduct in the mode of retaliation he adopted, and

his retreat to the Austrian army. This memorial closed with observing, "In the generosity of the enemies we have so grievously outraged, I have found external peace. Not only do they treat humanely and attentively our wounded sick, and prisoners, who fall into their hands; and all this in despite of the calamities spread by agitators, to render us ferocious; but they engage to suspend their march, not to pass our frontiers, and to leave our brave army the termination of all our internal dissensions."

The convention in consequence of the detention of their deputies, ordered Count Linange, and Count Aversperg, both of the family of Saxe Cobourg, and two nephews of General Clairfayt, named Labarie, who were prisoners at Valenciennes, to be conducted to Paris, as hostages for the safety of the lives of the commissioners. General Damperre, a furious Republican, was appointed the new commander in chief.

The combined powers, in consequence of the defection of Dumouriez, agreed to hold a congress at Antwerp, which assembled on April 8. This congress was composed of his Serene Highness the Prince of Orange, and two sons; his Royal Highness the Duke of York, Lord Auckland, as Ambassador from England; M. Vander Speigel, from Holland; the Prussian, Spanish, and Neapolitan Envoys; the Prince of Saxe Cobourg, Counts Metternich, Stahrenberg, Mercy d'Argenteau; and Generals Knobeldorff, and Kelter. It was here declared, that the cessation of hostilities should no longer last, but that the war, with additional vigor and energy, should be renewed; and it was determined to commence operations against France without delay. Plans and arrangements for the opening of the campaign being agreed upon, the congress broke up.

CHAP. III.

Proceedings of the National Convention. Debates in the British Parliament. Insurrection in La Vendée. State of Parties in the Convention. Action at Famers. Death of General Dumpierre. Surrender of Valenciennes.

IT was the observation of Him, *who spake as never man did speak*, the Divine Founder of the Christian Religion, that *a kingdom divided against itself cannot stand.* The proceedings of the national convention during the year we are now attending to, form a luminous commentary on that text. The council of war of Lisle, complained of General Westermann's disobedience of orders, whom they charged with having directed his artillery against that place. Such was the ridiculous mania of the members of the convention, in consequence of General Dumouriez's conduct, that the execrable Egalité, and the still more execrable Marat, were denounced as enemies to the constitution; while those blood-stained wretches were yet busily engaged in forming lists of proscription, and forming prospectuses of assassination, more enormous in their nature, and more extensive in their operation, than what disgraced the Roman Republic in the times of Marius and Silla. The convention also decreed, "That the French nation would not intermeddle, in any manner, with the government of other states; but that it will be sooner buried under its own rains, than suffer any other power to interfere with the internal affairs of the Republic, or influence the constitution which she chooses to adopt."

On April 15, Marat had the audacity to publish a summons to the people of the provinces, to assemble and massacre all the opponents of the Jacobins, such a proposition was even scouted in that assembly where Jacobinism was prominently powerful, and an order for Marat to be committed to prison was warmly applauded, and the motion for this purpose was signed by an hundred members. Cambon proposed, that the motion, with the signatures, should be printed, and sent to the army, and through the departments of the country.

Vergniaud arose and said, "I shall support this motion, for I think the departments ought to know who those are that foment a civil war." Gersonne, upon this, observed, "We can no longer assemble, the discord is so great that honest men must allow, that all the bonds of national confidence between the members of this assembly, are dissolved; (Yes, yes, with one voice, cried all the Jacobin members.) The motion which has been signed (continued Gersonne) contains, besides threats, an appeal to the people, which I myself solicit; it is time they should know, whether the making of laws belongs to them, or to a wretched faction. In that state of division, hatred, and distrust, into which we have been thrown, we must appeal to the people; it is impossible that our dissensions can otherwise be ended." Gersonne concluded with saying, "That the people might be allowed to replace such members as had lost their confidence, by new deputies."

The following was the address of the Jacobins of Paris, to the Jacobin societies in the departments, signed by Marat, as president, which occasioned the decree of accusation passed against him by the convention:

"FRIENDS,

"We are betrayed; to arms! Dumouriez, united with the criminal faction who have supported him is marching against Paris. Your greatest enemies are in the senate. The counter-revolution is in the government and the convention; there exists that sacrilegious cabal directed by foreign courts. Let us rise; let us exterminate all the conspirators: let the departments, districts, municipalities, and all popular societies, unite in the expulsion of all their unfaithful members, who betrayed their trust, and who did not vote for the death of a tyrant. Be fully persuaded of this truth, that Paris without you cannot save the Republic. The Marseillese are already on their march. To arms! hurry to Paris; no delay; no deliberation, else your country is lost!"

The majority of the convention had consented to the forming a *Revolutionary Tribunal*, for the speedy trial of all persons suspected of incivism, or counter-revolutionary practices. This tribunal sentenced, on April 16, M. Blanchiande, the late governor of St. Domingo, to death; which sentence was speedily executed.

The convention entered upon a *new discussion* of the declaration of the Rights of Man. The first of which, as amended, was, "The natural rights of man in society are, equality, liberty, safety, property, the social qualifications, and resistance of oppression." Liberty was thus defined in this new political commentary upon the existing laws; "Liberty consists in doing every thing that does not injure another; it rests upon this maxim, 'Do not to another, what you would wish not done to yourself.'" The committee proposed, as the 8th article, to declare every man free in the exercise of his *religious worship*. On this article, Verginaud moved the previous question, as the debate upon it would rank it among the social duties, to which it was entirely foreign: he was supported by Danton, who said, "Let us, at length, prove to the world, that we are cured of *the madness of priests*."

Marat, owing to the predominant sway of the Jacobins, was acquitted of the criminality attributed to him in the address to the provincial Jacobin. In fact, the whole of the proceeding was a grand manœuvre on the part of the Mountain; and from this time may be dated the ruin of the Gironde party. A tiger of the human species was now set at liberty to range abroad, and satiate himself with human blood.

Although the court of St. James's had been obliged, from existing circumstances, to join with the continental powers, in restraining the unbounded licentiousness of the new government of France; yet various endeavors were made to effect a conciliation between this country and France. A gentleman of splendid fortune,‡ and brilliant talents, had resided in Paris for two years preceding the death of the king. During that critical interval of the revolution, without committing himself with any of the parties who ruled in turn, he obtained a profound knowledge of the national character, and upon his arrival in England, he made some communications on the subject to the British ministers, but without effect. §

‡ WILLIAM BECKFORD, Esq. of Fonthill, Wiltshire; so distinguished for his architectural science, and encouragement of the arts; author of the "History of the Caliph Vatheck;" "The Lives of the Painters;" a "*Jeu d'Esprit*," and other works.

§ See European Magazine, vol. xxxii. p. 149.

A society had been formed in London, denominated, "The London Corresponding Society." The publication of Thomas Paine's treatise, entitled, "The Rights of Man," and the formation of the national convention, gave birth to this society, which, under the specious pretext of effecting a parliamentary reform, aimed at something more analogous to the convention of France. Suspecting that a communication was established between members of the convention, and persons residing in Great Britain, a bill was brought into the British parliament for preventing traiterous correspondence. The Earl of Guildford opposed it in the house of peers, "as a monstrous compound of unnecessary severity; as an extension of treasons, infringing upon the liberty of the subject." It was supported by Lords Grenville, Hawkesbury, Darnley, and Portchester; and opposed by the Duke of Norfolk, Marquis of Lansdown, and Lord Lauderdale. The bill was passed by a large majority. In the commons, during its progress, it was opposed by Mr. Curwen, and Mr. Fox, the latter of whom reprobated the bill as an attack upon the fundamental privileges of Englishmen; as ineffectual in some of its provisions, and tyrannical in its operation. Mr. Pitt, in advocating the bill, replied, "That there was no violation of freedom in this bill; there were professions of liberty arising from Whig principles, as they were sometimes called, but he could see no peculiar difference in Whig principles from any other principles; there were many Whigs who had become Tories in their turn; and many persons calling themselves Whigs, held Tory principles; there existed the same necessity now to pass such a bill as the present, as there did at the time of the revolution, when similar laws had been passed to ward off the dangers which threatened us from French factions in this country; and the danger, in his opinion, was equally great at this time as it was then; and at the time of the revolution, the Whigs were the very persons who passed a bill similar to that now objected to. There were laws existing against treason, but it was requisite there should be a specification of those laws; it would serve as a warning to those who might not recollect the laws already in existence." Mr. Sheridan ridiculed the idea of danger arising from the machinations of a French party, as there

did at the time of the Revolution; at the time when the greatest part of the nation were biassed by religious and political prejudices in favor of an actual pretender to the crown; when open acts of treason broke out in various parts of the kingdom; when numbers were executed as traitors, and when the life of the king had been endangered by a project of assassination; when such was the situation of affairs, there was not truly so much danger as at present, though no one person had been convicted, or even indicted, for treason. If there did now exist a plot, bring it forward. Where were the proofs? They existed only in the ministers fears and conduct. The precautions they had taken against the great plot, were to prove its existence, in the same manner that the medicine administered by a doctor, demonstrated the disease of his patient; the right honorable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) had given the house a dissertation upon Whig and Tory principles; he could tell him of some persons in that house, who had been Whigs and Tories by turn, as it best suited their interest: it was his wish, that the right honorable gentleman would take some of the principles of the Whigs, and give them back their members.

In another debate on this subject, Mr. Burke made an eloquent speech in defence of the war, and observed, "That we were at war with an enemy who had succeeded in creating *faction* in this country," which occasioned a general cry from the opposition side of the house of, "Name, name;" to which the orator replied, "Gentlemen may cry name, name, for the purpose of deterring me; but I am ready and willing to have my words taken down; and the time may shortly arrive, when *I will name the faction;* when I will name them to their confusion. I assert first, that the enemy with whom we are engaged, has attempted to create a faction in this country; and my next assertion is, that, in her attempt, France has, in a degree, succeeded." Mr. Burke then, alluding to the internal politics of France, exposed the *liberty* enjoyed there, by domiciliary visits; and the injustice of the revolutionary tribune. He then quoted a passage in the Papers, which, referring to that tribunal, stated, that the time had not yet come to drag before the tribunal the Orestes of the British parliament, the furious Burke, Grenville the insolent, and Pitt the plotter; but the time would soon arrive, when these

conspirators against the human race; those wretches lavish with their crimes, and lavish with their gold, to promote insurrections in France, should be on their knees before the statue of liberty, and rise only to mount the scaffold, to expiate their crimes with their blood. Mr. Burke added, "The French, in carrying with them wherever they went their system of revolution, appeared to him like a travelling tinker carrying with him his forge; the French, with the travelling apparatus, like the tinker with his, were always prepared to blow up the coals; and as the tinker mended the constitution of old kettles, so the French mended the constitutions of states, by stopping one hole and making twenty."

In the provinces of Brittany and Poitou, now called La Vendee and La Loire, a vast multitude of emigrant royalists had assembled; Rennes, the capital of Brittany, was in a state of insurrection, and throughout the provinces, resistance to the convention every where prevailed. Commissioners were sent from Paris to quell the riots; but the inhabitants of sixty parishes formed themselves into an armed body, and published the following answer to the proclamation issued by the republican commissioners:

"In the name of the ONLY TRUE GOD, whom you have abjured.

"We are forced to return an answer to your third proclamation, the only intention of which, like that of both the preceding, is a disarming, which good sense and reason will not permit us to comply with; nor submit to your laws, which we will never acknowledge, were we even to lose the last drop of our blood. Your sanguinary character, well known by your massacres, with which you have had the audacity to reproach our chief, does not permit us even to doubt of your deceitful promises. Your inveterate declarations against our chiefs merit only the most profound contempt. Our most ardent desire is, to give battle to your *invincible* army of patriots! Our surest shield against your arms is a God, the avenger of crimes, as is proved in different attacks, in which we have lost only two men; and instead of fearing their fury, which, you say, you are unable to restrain, we desire that you may add to it your own personal courage. We see too well to suffer our-

selves to be seduced by your deceitful speeches, of which we have had more than one proof. We have been neither affected, nor intimidated, by your threats. The mask is removed, the yoke is shaken off; and even if it were not, we should do it at present; we abjure all submission to your laws and protection.

"It is needless for you to make any more mention of districts, departments, and municipalities, of whose armed forced we stand in no dread. After the abuse which the first deputies made of our instructions and petitions, so often rejected, as not being conformable to your laws, we declare in the face of the universe, that we will acknowledge none of them, and that we adopt only the ancient laws, which we propose to re-establish by the sword; and the effusion of democratic blood, if the patriots do not abjure their errors: and as the first proof of compliance with our wishes, begin by setting at liberty our clergy, and by concurring to raise that throne which you have overturned.

"You are wrong if you think that the cause of the nobility, is the only end of the insurrection of the people. It is their own cause which they defend at present. Numberless acts of oppression; the decrees of the constituent and legislative assemblies, and those of the convention, have forced them to take up arms; which they are determined never to lay down until you have dissipated their fears by a proclamation. To accomplish this, grant the prayer of their petitions. Such is the will of the united parishes.

"Dated at the camp of Morieve, this 10th day of April; the first year of the reign of Louis XVII. Signed, &c."

The loyalists of La Vendee had already defeated the republicans in two battles, with great loss. The standard of royalty was now hoisted, and the insurrection assumed a menacing aspect.

The hatred of the parties and factions in the convention was daily increasing; the defection of Dumouriez, and the insurrection in La Vendee, were circumstances which tended to augment the power of the Mountain faction; men who disdained to argue but with the poignard, and whose decrees, like the laws of Draco, were written in blood. Marat and Robespierre were the most

distinguished members of this party. Marat, whose person excited horror, and his dress disgust, was busily employed in writing books and pamphlets, the design of which was to prove, that Rome never was so free, as when the agrarian laws were enacted. While Robespierre, though not an orator, yet, as a powerful and pleasing speaker, procured an ascendancy in the convention. Brissot, and his adherents, were alarmed at the progressive increase of proselytes which were made in the legislative assembly by those terrorists; they saw, when too late, their error in coalescing in those measures which lately had been pursued; and they beheld, with grief, the fine fabric of the constitution they had erected, mouldering into ruins. Every endeavor was made to curb and restrain the murderous projects of that monster Marat; in vain was he denounced as an enemy to the Republic; he had great support, not only in the convention, but out of it. Having been denounced by Guadet, he was ordered to prison, when fifty members of the assembly offered to go with him; he was brought before the revolutionary tribunal, tried, and acquitted. That acquittal was a sure presage of his adversaries' condemnation. Egalité, the *ci-devant* Duke of Orleans, was not an object of indifference to either party. A report had been industriously spread, that General Dumouriez was in league with him, and had a design of raising him to the throne. When the general was at Frankfort, he left with Count Metternich, secretary to the government of the Austrian Netherlands, the following paper relative to this report:

Declaration of General Dumouriez.

"Having been given to understand, that certain suspicions have been entertained against my intentions, and that a pretended intercourse, supposed to exist between myself and Philippe d'Orleans, a French prince too well known under the name of Egalité, has been insinuated; jealous to preserve the esteem of which I daily receive the most honorable proofs, I hasten to declare my ignorance that an Orleans faction does really exist; that I never had any connexion whatever with the prince, who is supposed to be the chief, or who is made the pretext of this faction; that I have never esteemed this Philippe d'Orleans, this Egalité, this French prince of the blood:

and since that disastrous period, when he burst asunder the ties of consanguinity, and violated every known law, by criminally voting for the death of Louis XVI. on whose fate he pronounced his opinion with the most atrocious and unblushing impudence; since that period, I say, my contempt for him has been changed into a legitimate aversion, which leaves me the wish only of seeing him delivered up to the severity of the laws.

"As to his sons, I believe them gifted with as many virtues, as their father possesses vices; they have effectually served their country in the armies I commanded, without displaying at any time, the least tinge of ambition. For the eldest of them I entertain the highest friendship, founded on the best merited esteem.

(Signed) "DUMOURIEZ."

During the temporary confinement of Marat, his sanguinary coadjutor Robespierre, was uncommonly active in the convention; he publicly accused Guadet, and the chief leaders of the Gironde party: through his agency, deputations were sent from several departments, praying the legislature, that an Agrarian Law should be introduced into the Republic; and that a revolutionary code of laws should be drawn up, which might obviate the inconveniencies of the tardiness and delay of justice, in the punishment of conspirators of every kind. The forty-eight sections also appeared by turn at the bar, insisting upon the expulsion of twenty-two persons, among whom were, Brissot, Buzot, Petion, Barbaroux, and Salles. The state of Paris, and of France, at this time, cannot be better described than in the language of a writer *(without his comments)* whom we have had frequent occasion to quote: "Princes and bishops' palaces, were now converted into national magazines, and public workshops; convents and monasteries, transformed into prisons. The horses which were formerly richly covered with Morocco, and gold and silver harness, drawing the wealthy and luxurious to the operas, and spectacles, were now drawing cannon and ammunition to the numerous armies and garrisons. The celebrated carved and richly painted vehicles were now plastered over, with a water-color varnish, and concealed in hiding-places from public view. The heretofore well-frequented hotels in the *Rue Richlieu*, and *Jacob*, had more the appearance

of gentlemen's houses in London, during the season of shooting partridges. The cathedrals were made arsenals of: and those churches where public worship was performed, were attended only by very old persons, or very young children. The costume of the bar and the pulpit were no longer seen; all finery of dress was forbidden. The great public works, which had so long been the honor and ornament of France, and the admiration and applause of strangers, now stood still. The unparalleled *Seve China* manufactory; and the inimitable *Gobelin Tapestry* works, were supervised by a few worn out old men or women only. There was not a street, an edifice, or a high road, which did not fill the mind of the observer with reflections, at once sorrowful and sublime. Twice a day those parts of Paris where the bakers lived, were blocked up by the importunate applications of the hungry for a loaf of bread! In some of the communes of France, the distribution of bread did not amount to three ounces to each person per day." †

The Prince of Cobourg having his army greatly reinforced by a body of Prussians, English, and Hanoverian troops, under the Duke of York, began the campaign by advancing against Maulde, which he took possession of, and blockaded Condé. General Dampierre, the French commander in chief, remained on the defensive at Famars, where his outposts were assailed by the Austrians on April 13, in six different points, but were repulsed with considerable loss. On the 1st of May, General Dampierre attempted to dislodge the French from several villages; and on the 8th of the same month, the Duke of York marched to the camp at Maulde with the brigade of guards, and a battalion of Hanoverian infantry. General Dampierre made an attack upon the posts occupied by General Clairfayt, which extended from the Scheldt to the Abbay de Vicogne; and the Prussian corps, which defended the wood in the front of the high road, leading from that place to St. Amand. General Knobeldorf being greatly pressed by the French, the Duke of York marched with the Coldstream and the flank battalions, and that of the third regiment, to his support. The Coldstream battalion advanced into the

† Perry's Sketch of the French Revolution.

wood, and drove the enemy before them; being, however, exposed to the fire of a French battery, they suffered severely. General Lake (afterwards Lord Lake) commanded this battalion. At the Abbay de Vicognes, and the village of Raimes, the action continued with unremitted violence, till eight o'clock in the evening; General Clairfayt successfully maintained his ground during the action. The Prussian camp at St. Amand was cannonaded.

On the following day the whole of the French batteries were assailed, and upwards of 100 prisoners taken.‡ The French lost 4,000 men in the engagement of the 8th, and General Dampierre§ was mortally wounded. The Austrians had upwards of 500 killed and wounded, the Prussians 300, and the English 1,500. The Duke of York, with the troops under his command, marched to Tournay. The serjeant-major of the Coldstream regiment, named Darley, performed prodigies of valor; he had his arm broken and shattered by a ball, but he continued to fight with animated and determined bravery for near two hours; he put to death a French officer who made an attack upon him; but, at length, had his leg broken by a cannon shot, in consequence of which he was taken prisoner. The Duke of York sent a trumpet, to say, that the surgeon who attended him should be rewarded if he treated him with humanity.

‡ London Gazette, May 10, 1793.

§ GENERAL DAMPIERRE, was originally in the French guards, and, in consequence of his services and merit, passed through the different degrees of preferment, until he was appointed General in chief, on the dereliction of Dumouriez; he was a brave and distinguished officer; he especially signalised himself at the battle of Jemappe, and in the retreat after the battle of Nerwinden. The following letter was sent to the national convention, announcing his death:

"The whole army regret in him a brave soldier, an able general, and a sincere friend to the Republic. The confidence which he inspired into the troops by his noble proclamation at the time when the treachery of Dumouriez was discovered; his military career, always glorious and unsullied; and above all, his death, ought to be recalled to the remembrance of those who may endeavor to tarnish the splendor of his justly-acquired reputation.

"To-morrow we shall accompany all the good citizens to moisten with our tears the laurels and cypress destined to cover his grave."

The Convention decreed, that his remains should be deposited in the Pantheon.

On the 23d of May, a spirited attack was made by the allies on the French camp at Famars, which covered the town of Valenciennes; in consequence of the camp being abandoned, the siege of that town commenced, while Condé still continued blockaded.

CHAP. IV.

Progress of the English Arms, in the East and West Indies. Insurrection at St. Domingo. Custine's Operations on the Rhine. Revolt of Corsica. Capture of Valenciennes. Disorders in the Convention. Manifesto of the City of Marseilles.

After Great Britain had declared war against France, an expedition was fitted out against the French islands in the East and West Indies. Major-general Cuyler, in conjunction with Vice-admiral Sir John Lafory, proceeded with a small body of men, against Tobago. Having landed in Great Courland Bay, the troops marched to attack the fort; Montrel, the commandant, was induced to reject the summons requiring him to surrender, but the place was carried by assault the same night. The small islands of St. Pierre, and Miquelon, near the coast of Newfoundland, were also captured soon after, by General Ogilvie; and General Bruce attacked the island of Martinico; but, although invited and supported by a number of the inhabitants, who were royalists, yet the general, upon mature deliberation, viewed it expedient to abandon the design, and re-embark the troops.

The failure of the attempt on Martinico, was in some degree compensated for, by the possession of a portion of the island of St. Domingo: this colony, from its vast population, might be considered as superior to the whole of the European colonies in America.† The national

† Mr. Bryan Edwards, in his "Historical Survey," p. 1, states the number of enslaved negroes, in 1789, at 480,000; free people of color at

assembly had passed a decree, "That all the people of color, born of free parents, should become citizens, and were eligible to seats, both in the parochial and colonial assemblies." This measure occasioned a civil war in that island; the negroes and mulattos having formed an alliance together for their mutual security. Commissioners were deputed from the assembly to repair to St. Domingo, to ameliorate the differences, whose conduct meeting with disapprobation, Santhenax, Pelverel, and Alihand, were appointed in their stead; Blanchelande, the governor, was sent home by these new commissioners, tried, and guillotined. These intestine disputes occasioned the most dreadful atrocities to be committed. A dreadful massacre of the inhabitants of the town of Cape Francois took place; and Maudnit, the commandant of Port-au-Prince, was murdered by his own soldiers. Thus exposed to continued inroads on their property, and in continual danger of being massacred; amidst scenes of desolation and bloodshed, a number of the white inhabitants solicited the protection of Great Britain. An expedition under the command of Commodore Ford, sailed from Port Royal, with a military force, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Whitelocke,‡ which landed at Jeremie, when the two forts were agreed to be destroyed, and the squadron sailed for the Mole, the garrison of which surrendered; and thus, instead of the tricolored flag, the English colours proudly waved on the ramparts of Presque Isle and Orleans, displaying the triumphs of Britannia in the western hemisphere.

In the East Indies, the important fortress of Pondicherry was invested by a naval force, under Admiral Cornwallis; and on land by a body of troops, under the command of Colonel Floyd; Colonel De Chermont was unable to resist the bold and vigorous exertions of the

24,000. These, together with the white inhabitants, constituted a total of 554,831. Colonel Charmilly, who possessed better means of information on this subject, estimates the population previously to the civil war at 600,000 of all colours exclusive of the Spanish portion of the island, which contains about 60,000, reckoning the whites at 2,000 the negroes at 30,000, and the remainder, including twelve or fourteen different mixtures, from "the mungrel to the marebou," at 28,000.

‡ Afterward, GENERAL WHITELOCKE, who, for his disgraceful conduct at Buenos Ayres, was dismissed the service.

British forces, but was speedily obliged to enter into terms of capitulation for its surrender.

About the middle of April, General Custine was entrenched between Weissembourg and Lauterbourg; on one side of his camp was the Rhine, on the other a vast plain. The allies, with a large army, had blocked up Mentz, and a detachment of Prussians crossed the Rhine at Manheim, and cut off all communication with France; the provisions being exhausted, after the garrison had subsisted for several weeks on horse flesh, Mentz was surrendered to the King of Prussia on the 22d of July; the garrison was allowed to march out with all the honors of war, and also to carry away their arms and baggage; but it was expressly stipulated, that they should not serve against the allies for one year, from that time. General Custine was denounced in the convention by Barrere, and ordered to be put under arrest. †

Corsica, it will be recollected, had sent a deputation to the national assembly, with the brave Paoli at its head, wishing to be incorporated with the French nation: the connexion which Paoli had long been known to have with the British government, had rendered him suspected, and a proclamation was read in the convention, as drawn up and published by Paoli to the Corsicans, in which they were represented as totally ignorant of the existing state of France; Paoli had indeed represented the disposition which the inhabitants of that island had to place themselves under the protection of his Britannic Majesty; in consequence of which the decrees of the convention were annulled by the magistrates of the island, and the clergy were reinstated in their ancient possessions and privileges; Calvia, Bastia, and St. Florent, towns democratised, made a feeble stand in support of the convention; but the thunder of the British fleet in the Mediterranean, appalled the courage of the inhabi-

† GENERAL CUSTINE, although he had accepted the command of a revolutionary army, and had displayed great military science and courage in many campaigns, was very moderate in his principles, and disapproved of the proceedings of the convention; this exposed him to the fury of the Mountain party; he was brought to trial before the revolutionary tribunal, and suffered by the axe of the guillotine soon after. He behaved with the utmost heroism on the scaffold.

tants, and they were yielded as trophies to add to the glories of the British flag.

The arms of the allies continued to be crowned with success. General Chancel, the French commandant at Condé, had capitulated to Prince Ferdinand of Wirtemberg. The siege of Valencienes was carried on with unabated vigor. On the night of July 25, three attacks were made on the fortifications; nine hundred men being destined for each attack; the men selected were from the Hanoverian, Hessian, Austrian, and British troops. The Hanoverians were commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Doyle, Colonel Lancorke, and Colonel Offney. Major-general Abercromby superintended one of the attacks; and the Austrian Lieutenant-general Erbach, commanded the whole: the attacks were made in a brilliant style, and the French were almost instantaneously driven from the covered way; they abandoned the horn-work, and all the outworks of the place, and a lodgment was effected before day-light. The total loss of the combined troops on this occasion, did not exceed 150 men and officers killed and wounded, among the latter was Ensign Tollemache, a brave and much lamented officer.† In consequence of being in possession of the works, batteries were erected, and worked by the royal artillery, under the command of Major Congreve. The town, at length, surrendered on the 27th of July; the garrison were permitted to march out with the honors of war, and to retire into France, not to serve against the allies during the war. The most singular fact in the history of this siege is, that a considerable part of the war was carried on under ground. Sir James Murray, Adjutant-general to the forces under the command of the Duke of York, in his dispatch to Mr. Secretary Dundas, observes, "Just as the army arrived upon its ground, a part of the enemy coming, as it is supposed, from Bouchain, attacked an advanced party of Hanoverians; they were driven back with some loss, by six squadrons of Hanoverian cavalry. His Royal Highness Prince Ernest was personally engaged, and distinguished himself upon this occasion."

The disputers in the convention exhibited a dreadful

† ENSIGN TOLLEMACHE, the only son of Lady Bridget Tollemache, and the heir apparent to the Earldom of Dysart, with an estate of eight thousand a year. He was not twenty-one years of age when he fell. His father was killed in a duel during the war with America.

scene of division and tumult, which placed the capital in a state of complete commotion. On May 31, the tocsin was sounded, the *generale* was beat, and the alarm guns were fired; the citizens flew to arms, and surrounded the convention; some deputations demanded a decree of accusation against a number of their members. The country was now without a constitution; Condorcet, a *ci-devant* marquis, had proposed drafts of a constitution, which were rejected with contempt. Domiciliary visits were now made in all the houses in Paris, for fire-arms; and fifteen thousand men, headed by Santerre, the brewer, were dispatched in coaches, chaises, and every other vehicle, to the city of Tours, which was surrounded by the counter-revolutionists of La Vendee; Tallien had given information of the danger, and he was himself witness of the triumphs of the adherents to Louis XVII. The Brissotins, and the Jacobins, were now in a state of open hostility; Guadet, a chief leader of the Brissotine party, proposed the following decree, "That the national convention breaks and dissolves all the constituted authorities of Paris." The Girondists were particularly respected in the departments; but all the burgeois, and the *canaille* of Paris, the sans culottes, the very scum and offscouring of that city, were violent partisans of the Mountain faction. A few sections of Paris were, however, under the influence of the former: a member of one of these divisions, informed the convention, there was a plot of the first magnitude which threatened the revolution with total ruin; it was asserted that a meeting had been held at the mayor's house, to plan measures similar to those displayed on the 3d of September; seventy-two members were to be massacred, and their bodies thrown into the Seine. Pache, the mayor, was exculpated from being concerned in the conspiracy; being examined at the bar of the convention, he granted that some violent propositions had been made to him, but he treated them with contempt. The city of Paris had demanded six millions of livres, to purchase corn for the inhabitants; but the majority of the convention decreed, that only two millions five thousand should be granted; in consequence of this decision, placards were posted upon the walls insinuating, that the majority of the convention were desirous of starving the Parisians into a compliance with their measures.

A committee of twelve members of the convention had been formed, for the purpose of watching over the peace of the capital; among other regulations respecting the police presented by this committee to the convention, was, "That the sittings of the section should not continue after ten o'clock at night." The lower class of the Parisian populace viewed this as a direct attack upon them, by excluding them from the public meetings; and as all distinctions and understandings were now placed on a level, this was a grievance of great magnitude, and was essentially injurious to the interests of the Brissotines. On May 26, Marat ascended the tribune, and delivered a speech on the state of the country; he declared, that his adversaries did not deign to notice the dispositions and opinions of *that class of citizens*, with whom *he associated;* they were, therefore, strangers to the public opinion, and the public strength, for he was of opinion, that the former *constituted* the *latter;* he vehemently insisted, that corruption and venality prevailed in the departments; unless *republican* manners were adopted by the people, virtue, self-denial, and rigid economy, all was lost. This speech operated so greatly on the convention, that a decree was passed for prohibiting luxurious and foreign manufactures, and the few gaudy coaches which were yet to be seen in the streets of Paris. The imprisonment of Hebert followed, which greatly enhanced his popularity; he was greatly esteemed by the lower classes, being the editor of a journal solely directed to their interests. Hebert was soon released, by an order of the convention.

In numbers the Girondists still maintained a majority in the convention; but, in influence, the Robespierrian *minority* took the lead; three members, of no inconsiderable talents, and avowed Jacobins, were admitted into the committee of public welfare, in the room of three who had resigned; their names were, Herault de Schelles, St. Just, and Couthon. The dissolution of the power of the Girondists rapidly approached: the convention was surrounded by an armed force, and the Mountain party, at length, obtained a decree for the arrest of the following distinguished members, the heads of the opposite faction, Brissot, Gersonne, Vergniaud, Guadet, Gouras, Petion, Salles, Duprat, Barbaroux, Buzot, Birottoau, Rabaut de St. Etienne, Grangeneure, Lasource, Lanju-

nais, Lesage, Louvet, Valazé, Doulcet, Ducos, Lanthenas, and Dupas, together with ten members of the committee of twelve; when the names were made out, on the motion of Marat, the names of Ducos, Dupause, and Lanthenas, were expunged.

The department of Lyons had declared in favor of those members who were now publicly accused of incivism, and actually under arrest; and the city of Marseilles published the following manifesto to the French nation:

"You know the danger which threatened the public cause; they are such, that we must hasten to expose ourselves to death in the field of honor, or be butchered by our fire-sides. We must save the Republic, or perish with it; caress anarchy, or destroy it. We must resume our place among nations, or rank ourselves among the slaves of Asia, or the hordes of savages.

"When the national representation is dissolved by losing its integrity; when the departments whose manufactories are shamefully confined, justly consider themselves as not represented; when the majesty of the people is violated by insults offered to their ambassadors; when the faction who wish for a king, insolently domineer in that corrupted city, which brave us, there is then no middle point, shame and slavery, or to hasten to Paris.

"If you waste time in deliberating on the evil, that valuable time which ought to be employed in applying the last remedy; your country, your liberty, the honor of the French nation; you, your children, and wives, will be for ever lost. There will be no longer public, or private fortune; you will have lost four years of care, trouble, anarchy, battles, and torrents of blood shed for the noblest of causes.

"You will lose them without resource; a base handful of factious men murders the liberty of more than 25 millions. In this state of crisis and agitation, a voice proceeds from the centre and extremities of the Republic; it proclaims, that the nation has risen to conquer, or its inhabitants be buried under its ruins.

"The nation has risen! let us march! Marseilles says so; and Marseilles, doubtless, has a right to your confidence, and to support that revolution of which it set

the example. This is the last use which it wishes to make of the freedom of speaking, to manifest its grand resolutions and decisive measures; instead of an armed people, a nation of warriors, who wait only for the signal of battle, the vain preparations of words; it is the courage of actions which we require.

"Let us strike, and let the French accused so long of being frivolous, prove to the world, that if they were so under kings, they are become impatient of insult, and terrible, like the Gauls and the Franks from whom they have the honor to be descended.

"Republicans, men of all countries, who wish for liberty, and detest licentiousness; who abhor royalty, and wish to maintain the Republic, one and indivisible, join the Marseillese, who express that wish already expressed by a great number of departments.

"They perceive that the present political situation of Paris, is equivalent to a declaration of war against the whole Republic.

"They accuse and denounce to you, as the occasion of all the disorders which afflict France, Philip of Orleans, and his faction; the frantic monster whose howlings, and whose name would disgrace this proclamation, the den of the Jacobins at Paris: the factious and intriguers, who are dispersed throughout it, and who make themselves busy in every corner of the Republic; Marseilles marks them out as the enemies of the public, who wished to conduct us to the brink of the precipice, to adulterate their monstrous and preconcerted anarchy with the king of their own creation; and this king would be the most corrupted man of his age; a man loaded with debt, rich in disgrace, baseness and debauchery; a man whom a virtuous citizen would not admit among the number of his footmen, and *whom the latter* would *drive from among them;* a man, in short, confined within our walls, and against whom we invoke speedy and severe punishment.

"We invite you to sign, with us, the just and indispensable confederation which we propose for the public safety, and to wash away so many injuries.

"Marseilles, consequently, declares that it is in a legal state of resistance to oppression, and that it authorizes it, by the law of public safety, to make war on the factious.

"That it cannot any longer acknowledge in the convention, whose integrity is violated, the national representation; and that at the epoch only, when the mandatories of the people, restored to their functions, shall vote in freedom, the nation will obey them with confidence and submission.

"That the throne of anarchy has been raised on the bloody ruins of that which you have so justly overturned; and that tyranny is detestable in proportion to the perverseness and excessive corruption of those who wish to exercise it.

"That the factious have already been able to dissolve the convention, by weakening it, by carrying into the bosom of it disorganization, disorder, and foolish temerity; and the French nation cannot consider the acts emanating from a portion of the representatives of the people, who still occupy their places, but as so many proofs of the constraint exercised over some, by the perfidy and villainy of others.

"That the imprisonment of a great number of legislators is a crime produced by the delirium of villainy; a crime which posterity will scarcely credit, if it come not to them accompanied with proofs of the striking vengeance which we swear we will take, and which you will be able to obtain along with us.

"That the people of worth whom Paris still contains, are invited to second, as much as may be in their power, the united efforts that we are going to make for the common safety, and suffer to fall on the heads of the factious all the weight of that responsibility which they have incurred by their crimes.

"That the ruling faction at Paris has reduced the Republic to suffer in that city, too long domineered over and abused, an armed force, which is the last resource of the Sovereign People, by declaring, that the destination of confederated forces under the orders, and raised according to the wish of the departments, is to carry on a mortal war against those who wish to direct it into our bosoms torn by their criminal hands.

"That every man capable of bearing arms is summoned in the name of the law, of general and individual interest, and of humanity, to come and strengthen the wound which we are going to oppose to the destructive

torrent, unless every citizen wishes to be hurried into the abyss which anarchists and infamous depredators have prepared for us.

"That by decreeing to raise a determined number of men ready to unite in a body to effect the annihilation of the factious in their dens, the Marseillese, who wish to terminate the revolution they began, and to propagate the example they gave, invite to them all citizens desirous of meriting well of mankind. They adopt this mode only on account of the urgency of the case, and submitting their measures to the examination and approbation of all the members of the Sovereign, and without pretending to set bounds to the zeal of the generous defenders of their country, who wish spontaneously to reinforce the phalaux of liberty, they hope it will increase in its passage, and will be joined by all citizens desirous of doing good.

"That in the colours of this army the soldiers of their country will read the completion of every good law; the Republic one and indivisible; respect to persons and property—consoling words already engraven in their hearts.

"That we appeal to God, and to our arms, on account of the crimes committed against the integrity of the national representation; the insults offered to the individual liberty of our extraordinary deputies; the *liberticide* plots from which a miracle of Providence has saved us, and the accomplices of which, charged with executing the horrid deed within our walls, Marseilles is now prosecuting. A popular tribunal, to which it owes its peaceful and awful existence, is trying the conspirators, notwithstanding the obstacles which have been thrown in the way. Invested with the confidence of the people, and defended by it, the most imperious of laws, those of the present circumstances, determine its activity, and the people of Marseilles, instead of being refractory to the law, by employing the sword of it to strike the guilty, discharge the principal of social duties, which is, the speediest distribution of justice.

"Thus the city of Marseilles joins in the motives drawn from the common safety of the Republic, which legalizes its determination, a representation of the particular grievances which afflict it, and the necessity it is under of silencing its calumniators, who, despairing of

being able to kindle among us the torch of discord, dare to present it to the national convention as the light of truth.

"Republicans, the signal has been given—the moments are precious, and decisive measures are necessary. Let us march—let the Law enter Paris along with us; and if you are not acquainted with the roads to it, follow the traces of the blood of your brethren; they will conduct you to the bottom of its walls, from which have proceeded those murderous scourges, the sanguinary plots and destructive manœuvres, the sources of all our misery.

"There you will restore liberty to good citizens, and dignity to the national representation. The villains will disappear, and the Republic will be saved.

"Deliberated in the general committee of the thirty-two sections of Marseilles, June 12, 1793, the second year of the French Republic.

(Signed) "PELOUX, President.

"CASTELLANET, } Secretaries."
"PINATEL, }

The above Manifesto affords a complete delineation of the state of France, and its metropolis, at this striking æra. All the administrative bodies took an oath, expressive of the sentiments contained in it. The persons who assisted in drawing up this Republican Manifesto, appear to have pursued many of those works which exhibited an Utopian system of government, founded upon wild and incongruous ideas; but, as an anonymous elegant writer emphatically observes, "That a mere perusal of a treatise on government will not qualify a man for a statesman, any more than the recital of a line in Homer will constitute him a scholar. There are various intermediate steps, there are innumerable remote connexions, with which he must be familiarly acquainted; and without which he may, indeed, exercise his reason on the subject, but it will serve like an *ignis fatuus*, to deceive and mislead him." †

† Philosophical Sketches on the Principles of Society and Government, 1795.

CHAP. V.

New Constitution of France. Insurrection in the Departments. Assassination of Marat. Operations of the Allied Armies. Attack upon Dunkirk. Defeat of Marshal Freytag.

The Mountain party were now masters of the convention, and although their political creed was the very essence of licentiousness, freed even from the shackles of Republican restraint; yet these *virtuous* legislators framed a constitution, "a thing of shreds and patches," which, although bearing the semblance of order, was, in fact, calculated for a lawless banditti, and founded upon the agrarian law.

The following is a brief account of this constitution: It consisted of 124 articles, arranged under appropriate heads. "The rights of a citizen are acquired, as to natives, by birth; foreigners acquire them by marrying a French woman, by being domiciliated in France for one year, by maintaining an aged person, or adopting a child. The sovereignty of the people is asserted next. The primary assemblies are composed of two hundred citizens at the least, and six hundred at the most, of those who have been inhabitants for six months in each canton. The elections are made by ballot, or open vote, at the option of each voter. The suffrages upon laws are given by *yes* or *no*. Of the national representation, the population is the sole basis. There is one deputy for every forty thousand individuals. Each re-union of primary assemblies resulting from a population of from thirty-nine thousand to forty-one thousand souls, nominates directly one deputy. The French nation assemble every year, on the 1st of May, for the election. The primary assemblies are formed upon extraordinary occasions, on the demand of a fifth, from the citizens who have a right to vote in them; but the extraordinary assemblies only deliberate when more than the half of the citizens are present. Electoral assemblies are formed by the citizens united in primary assemblies, who name one elector for every two hundred citizens, and in proportion. The legislative body holds its session for a year, and its first

meeting is the 1st of July. Its members cannot be called in question for the opinions they have delivered in the national assembly. The functions of the legislative body are, to propose laws and pass decrees, superintend public instruction, the national domain, and make the declarations of war; to provide for the defence of the territory, and ratify treaties. The formation of the law is as follows: The plan of a law is preceded by a report; and the discussion of it cannot take place till fifteen days after the report is made. The plan is printed, and sent to all the communes of the Republic, under this title, "Law proposed." Forty days after, the law proposed is sent to the departments; if in more than half of the departments the tenth of the primary assemblies of each have not objected to it, the plan is accepted, and becomes a law. The executive council is composed of twenty-four members, for which the electoral assembly of each department nominates one candidate. The legislative body choose the members of the council from the general list. One half of it is renewed by each legislature, in the last month of the session. It nominates, not from its own body, the agents in chief of the general administration of the Republic. The legislative body determines the number and the functions of these agents. Civil justice is administered by justices of the peace, elected by the citizens, in circuits determined by the law; to conciliate and judge without expence. Their number, and their competence, are determinable by the legislature. The justices of the peace are elected every year. In criminal cases, no individual can be tried, but on an examination received by a jury, or decreed by the legislative body. The fact and the intention are declared by a jury of judgment. The punishment is applied by a criminal tribunal. The criminal judges are elected yearly, by the electoral assemblies. The general force of the Republic is composed of the whole people. All the French are soldiers; they are all exercised in the use of arms. No armed body can deliberate. The public force, employed against enemies from without, acts under the orders of the executive council. National conventions may be appointed on extraordinary occasions. If, in a majority of the departments, the tenth of the primary assemblies of each, regularly formed, demand the revision of the constitutional act, the legislative body is bound to convoke

all the primary assemblies of the Republic, to know if there be ground for a national convention. The national convention is formed in the same manner as the legislatures, and unites in itself their power. Under the title of the correspondence of the French Republic with foreign nations, we find the French people is the friend and natural ally of every free people. It does not interfere in the government of other nations. It does not suffer other nations to interfere in the government of its own. It gives an asylum to foreigners banished from their country for the cause of liberty. It does not make peace with an enemy that occupies its territory."

Such was the constitution of the Jacobin fraternity; the third constitution which France had received in three years!

The arrest of the federalists excited no small degree of dissatisfaction in various departments, that of the Gironde more especially: Bourdeaux, the chief town, sent an address to the convention, in which were these expressions: "Cries of indignation resound from every part; the citizens flock together, and propose very violent remedies, threatening vengeance against the usurping part of the convention." The new rulers were sensible, that not only the possession of their places, but their lives depended on their prompt exertions. A force was directed against some insurgents, as they were denominated, in the Lozere; Charrier, who was at the head of the revolt, and twelve of his companions in arms, were taken and executed. Buzot, one of the proscribed deputies, had effected his escape, and retired into the department of Euze and Calvados, the bishop of which, the eloquent Fauchet, was a staunch Girondist; the inhabitants of that department appeared in arms, and were resolved to march to Paris; but on their way, at Caen in Normandy, there was a disunion of sentiment; and a great number quitted the ranks, and returned home. The affairs at Lyons and Marseilles were still more serious; two commissioners there present, requested Kellerman to march with 30,000 men, and a considerable train of artillery, to reduce Lyons to obedience. It was besieged Sept. 19, some particulars of which we shall hereafter mention. Barbaraux, another of the accused deputies, was highly esteemed at Marseilles; it was through his medium the manifesto was drawn up and circulated. Two deputies

were dispatched to Marseilles; the insurrection was stopped; the troops assembled to march to the capital were dismissed, and five of the principal persons concerned in the manifesto, were executed.

An event at this time occurred, which excited an uncommon sensation in the French metropolis. John Paul Marat, one of the pillars of the new government, the apostle of lawless democracy; a blood-stained villain of the deepest dye, was assassinated on the evening of July 13. This monster of iniquity was killed by a female, Charlotte Cordét, of a noble family, a lady of eminent talents, and irreproachable character; having formed the design of delivering mankind from this reptile of the human species, she travelled from Caen in Normandy, to Paris, where she had never been before, purposely to carry into effect the object she had in view. It was with extreme difficulty she could have access to the house where he resided, as he was confined under the suffering of a loathsome disease. He was in a warm-bath at the time when she called; and by extreme importunity he, at length, was induced to see her; to meet the revenging arm of retributive justice *in this world*. During a short conversation which ensued, she drew a concealed knife from her bosom, and pierced his heart. He instantly expired, loaded with crimes of "*undivided guilt*."

As soon as the death of Marat was known, the section of the "Theatre Francoise," beat the *generale*, and put itself under arms. Upon being secured, this intrepid heroine being asked, "Who were her accomplices?" She answered, "I have none; no person has prompted me to perform the *good action* which I have done; and if people will but take pains, to examine into all the events preceding and subseqnent to the death of Marat, they will be convinced, that a true republican soul like me, could solely be excited by her own impulse, to free her country from its most dangerous enemy." Fauchet, the Bishop of Calvados, was confronted with her; being asked, if Fauchet had not introduced her into the tribune of the convention? She flatly denied the charge, saying, "I did nŏt esteem him enough for that; I have known him at Caen, as you may know any man that passes by you in the street."

The following interesting particulars of the trial, and execution, of this heroic woman, were related by a per-

son who was eye-witness thereof. Her appearance at the revolutionary tribunal struck every person with respect and awe. The public accuser having asked her, for what reason she had committed this resolute act of murder? She replied, with stoic calmness, "I came to Paris to glorify myself by this deed; to deliver my country from a conspiring monster; and to stop the wound his atrocious hands had opened."

Public Accuser. Are you not ashamed to become a common criminal for assassination?

Madam Cordét. It is a crime to have committed murder; but no disgrace to ascend the scaffold for this act.

Public Accuser. Presenting the dagger, he said, Do you recognise this sanguinary dagger?

Madam Cordét. I bought that myself in the Palais Royale, and remember it well; it is the same I plunged into his heart. I am satisfied.

The place of execution was greatly crowded; it was with much difficulty she arrived at the scaffold; the fish-women, and others, were near tearing her to pieces; the *gens d'armes*, and cavalry of the Republic, prevented this horrible act, by galloping along side with uplifted sabres. Madam Cordét ascended the scaffold with a firm step, and undaunted countenance; she pulled off her bonnet and handkerchief herself, but recoiled when the executioner went to bind her legs: "Are you so bad (cried this heroic lady) as to expose me here." "No, (replied the executioner) it is to bind you." "Do it then," answered Charlotte, with extraordinary firmness. The corpse o Madam Cordét was buried in the church-yard of St. Magdelaine, near the grave of Louis XVI.

The following letter was written by this lady to Barbaraux, one of the proscribed deputies:

"CITIZEN,

"You desired a narrative of my journey, and I shall not pass over the smallest anecdote. Arrived at Paris, I went to lodge in *Rue des Vieux Augustines*, in the *Hotel de Providence;* I then waited on Duperret, your friend, and I do not know how the commitee of general safety could learn that I had a conference with Duploret. You know the firmness of soul which the latter is possessed of, he answered the truth; I confirmed his deposition by my own; there is nothing against him; but his firmness

is a crime. I own I was under apprehension, I persuaded him to go and join you; but he is too headstrong; I resolved, therefore, upon the execution of my project.

"Fauchet (could you believe it?) is in prison as my accomplice, he who did not know that I existed; but they are hardly contented that they have but an insignificant woman to sacrifice to the *manes* of the *great man*. Pardon, ye men! that name disgraces your respect: it was a ferocious beast who was going to consume the rest of France with the fire of civil war. Now, long live Peace! Thanks to heaven, he was not born a Frenchman.

"Four members of the national convention were at my first interrogatory. Chabot looked like a madman. Legendre suspected to have seen me at his house in the morning: I never thought of this man; I believe his resources are not great enough for him to become the tyrant of his country; and I did not presume to punish every body. All those who saw me for the first time, pretended to have known me long ago.

"I believe the last words of Marat have been printed; but, trust me, he uttered none.

"But these are the last words he addressed to me, after I had given him all your names, besides those of the administrator of Calvedos who are at Evreux, he told me, to console me, that, "*in a few days he would have you all guillotined at Paris.*" These latter words decided his fate. If the department lays up his carcase facing that of St. Fargeau, it may have those words engraven in gold letters. I shall give you no particulars of this great event; the newspapers will speak of it. I own, that what decided me completely, was the courage with which our volunteers enlisted on Sunday, July 7. You remember how I was charmed; and I promised myself steadily to make Petion repent the suspicions he manifested respecting my sentiments. "Would you be sorry if they were not to depart hence?" said he. In short, I considered that so many brave men coming to Paris to seek the head of one single man, might have missed him, or that his death might have entailed destruction on many good citizens: he was not worthy of so much honor; the business was quite sufficient for the hands of a woman. I confess that I was obliged to have

recourse to a treacherous artifice, in order to gain admittance to him. I intended, when I left Caen, to have sacrificed him on the *summit* of the Mountain of the convention; he went no more to the convention. At Paris, they do not conceive how one useless woman, whose longest life would be of no avail, could sacrifice it in cold blood, to save her whole country: I really expected to die at the very instant. Men of courage, and really above all praise, rescued me from the fury of those whom I had made wretched. As I was really in cold blood, I suffered much at the cries of some women.

"But she that saves her country, never minds what it costs: may peace be restored as soon as I desire! There is now a great villain laid low, without which we should never have obtained it. I enjoy peace for these two days past; the happiness of my country constitutes my own. I do not doubt but they will torment my father, who already suffers but too much affliction by losing me.

"I informed him lately by letter, that being afraid of the fire of civil war, I would go over to England: my project then was to remain incog. upon the death of Marat; and I wanted to let the Parisians vainly trace out my name. I entreat, citizen, you and your colleagues to defend my parents, if they are molested. I never hated but one being, and I have displayed my character: those who regret me, will rejoice at finding me enjoy repose in the Elysian Fields, with Brutus and some ancients: few are the true patriots who know how to die for their country; they are most of them egotists.

"Two light-horsemen have been set over me, to keep me from the vapours. I found this very well by day, but not by night. I complained of this indecency: the committee thought proper to pay no regard to my complaints; I believe this is a scheme of Chabot's invention; none but a capuchin can have such ideas. Adieu.

(Signed)

"CHARLOTTE CORDET."

The following letter was written by her when in the Conciergerie, to her father:

From the Prison of the Conciergerie.
July 16, 1793.

"My respected Father,

"Peace is about to reign in my country—Marat is no more! Be comforted, and bury me in eternal oblivion. I am to be judged to-morrow, the 17th, at seven o'clock in the morning. I have lived long enough, as I have achieved a great exploit. I put you under the protection of Barbaroux and his colleagues, in case you should be molested. Let my relatives find my homage here; and remember, each and all of you, that Crime begets Disgrace, and not the Scaffold.†

(Signed) "CHARLOTTE CORDET."

The funeral of Marat was celebrated on July 16, with great pomp and solemnity. An immense concourse of people attended. All the sections joined in the procession, some with their colours, but all of them with their standards; four women carried the bathing-machine in which Marat was standing when he was assassinated; his shirt, stained with blood, was carried by a *Poissarde*, at the top of a pike. After this followed a wooden bedstead, in which the corps of Marat was carried by citizens; his head was uncovered, and the gash made by the knife could easily be distinguished. The procession paraded through several streets, and was saluted on its march by several discharges of artillery. At half past ten o'clock at night, his remains were deposited in a grave, dug in the yard of the Cordeliers, between four linden trees. At the base of his bed of state the following words were inscribed:

MARAT,
The Friend of the People,
Assassinated by the Enemies of the People,
Enemies of the Country.
Moderate your Joy,
He will find Avengers! ‡

† The sentiment at the close of this letter is copied from Corneille, "*C'est le crime qui fait le honte, et non pas l'echafaud.*"—CHARLOTTE ANN MARIA CORDET, was born in the department of the Rone, at St. Saturnin; she was well versed in the Belles Lettres, and had a perfect knowledge of ancient and modern history; she was also well acquainted with the poets, especially those of her own country. She was born July 28, 1768.

‡ The execrable MARAT resided for some time in England, acting in

Although divine Providence had been graciously pleased to remove such an inhuman scourge of society as Marat, from this world, there yet remained many of his colleagues his *fac simile*, his "very form and pressure;" thus the prisons continued to be filled, and numbers were devoted to death. On July 21, Conet, a stock-broker; Gellet, an hosier; Buiffort, a merchant; Jacquet, gentleman; Poupsot, a recruiting-officer; Quesnel, a musician; Delasalle, wax-bleacher; Nonneville, gentleman; and Taffin, a freeholder; were guillotined in the square *De la Revolution*. On the following day, Louis Malherbe, a *ci-devant* nobleman, convicted of emigration; and on the succeeding day, the celebrated writer D'Arnaud,† denominated the Richardson of France, was executed.

While the guillotine was groaning under the weight of its victims, the sanguinary rulers of the day, very *appropriately* ordered a solemn celebration of the tremendous events of the 10th of August. This took place on the anniversary; the procession left the hall of the convention at nine in the morning; arrived at a triumphal arch erected in the *Champ de Mars*, the president gave the *fraternal kiss* to the heroines of the 5th and 6th of October; and presented them with branches of laurel; they were seated upon pieces of heavy ordnance. Eighty-six elders, representing the eighty-six primary assemblies, ranged themselves close to the statue of Liberty; every standard-bearer came to deposit his colours around the pedestal; the insignia of royalty, brought in carts, were thrown upon billets of wood; the president then tore aside the veil which covered the statue of Liberty, and its solemn inauguration took place, amidst a general discharge of artillery; and the singing of a hymn composed on the occasion. Afterwards, the

the capacity of a French teacher at a boarding-school, in the vicinity of London, which he left upon the breaking out of the revolution.

† The Novels of M. D'ARNAUD acquired great celebrity; most, if not all, have been translated into the English language. His stile was elegant; he pourtrayed characters from life with a glow of colouring calculated to make the most impressive effect. His superior literary talents were ever devoted to the improvement of the mind, and the cultivation of virtuous principles. His writings exhibit scenes of human life, in which suffering virtue is finally rewarded; and vice, though *transiently triumphant*, is punished and disgraced. This excellent man was executed merely for harbouring an emigrant.

elders, carrying torches, set fire to the billets, when a second discharge of artillery announced the continuance of the march. The president of the convention, accompanied by the secretaries, and the eighty-six elders, ascended the altar, whilst the members of the convention, and those of the primary assemblies, occupied the steps; the president proclaimed the reception of the votes from the primary assemblies of the acceptance or the constitution; which was announced to the people by a general discharge of artillery, and the oath to defend it was taken. After the administration of the oath, the elders advanced towards the president, and delivered to him the fasces, which they caried in their hands, and which the president tied together with a tricoloured riband. He deposited the act of the constitution under the arch; he then consigned the arch, with the fasces, to the commissioners of the primary assemblies, to be kept by them till the following day, then to be deposited in the place of the sitting of the national convention. *Embraces* terminated this scene. Among those who were daily sent to the prisons on the charge of aristocracy, was Barthelemey, the celebrated author of "The Voyage of Anacharsis into Greece."

We shall now attend to the operations of the allied armies. His Royal Highness the Duke of York, marched from Furnes on August 22, in order to attach the camp of Ghivelde, and approach the town of Dunkirk. He advanced in three columns, the cavalry along the strand, a column of infantry on the road which leads by the canal directly upon Chivelde, and a third to the left. The advanced posts of the French were driven back, and abandoned their camp in the night; there was some firing at the advanced posts, in which an Austrian regiment had upwards of 50 men killed and wounded. The French having attacked the outposts, between the canal of Furnes and the sea, Lieutenant-general Dalton advanced with the reserve, which was encamped on that side, to their support, on which they were repulsed and driven with loss into the town; the ardour of the troops carried them further in the pursuit than was intended, for they came under the cannon of the place, by which means a considerable loss was sustained; General Dalton was killed by a cannon ball, towards the conclusion of the attack, as was Colonel Eld, of the Coldstream

regiment. The two British battalions were commanded by Colonel Leigh, and Major Matthews; and the Hessian grenadier battalion, by Colonel Wormb. In this action, which took place on St. Bartholomew's-day, the Austrians lost 170 men; the British 19 killed, and 119 wounded.

The French having attacked Lincelles, Major-general Lake, with three battalions from the first Coldstream, and third regiments of guards, were sent to the assistance of the Dutch troops, under the command of the Hereditary Prince of Orange, who had retreated from that place; the British advanced under a heavy fire, against a redoubt in front of the village; the works were stormed, and the enemy driven away, with the loss of seven pieces of cannon and 50 prisoners; Lieutenant-colonel Boswell, and Lieutenant De Peyster, were unfortunately killed.

Field Marshal Freytag, at the head of the Hanoverians, had a brilliant action with the French, at Post Capelle, and took 200 prisoners, and 11 pieces of cannon; he also seized on the post of Warmathe, and the bridge of Lefferink's Hoeck. The siege of Dunkirk occasioned the most animated exertions by the committee of public safety at Paris. General Souham was ordered to march with a chosen body of troops for the relief of the garrison, who found means to enter the town; General Houchard † also arrived with a considerable body of troops. It was determined to attack Marshal Freytag in his posts; and, notwithstanding the Hanoverians made a brave resistance, the French obtained possession of Bambecke, Rousbrugghe, and Poprimyhe, and obliged the allied army to retreat to Hondschoote. The ensuing day Freytag was again attacked, and the day after the line was forced; when General Walmoden was driven behind a canal, with the loss of three pieces of cannon, and three hundred men. Prince Adolphus,‡ youngest son of his Britannic Majesty, was in this last action, and

† GENERAL HOUCHARD was soon after recalled, and charged with neglecting to drive the English into the sea; with not cutting the Dutch to pieces; sending no succours to the troops at Cambray; abandoning Menin; and in his retreat exposing his army to danger. In consequence of these charges he was sentenced to suffer death, and was guillotined November 15.

‡ NOW DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE, and Vice-Regent of Hanover.

had nearly been taken prisoner, with the Hanoverian commander; he had his hat cut through, and received a slight wound in the head. The siege of Dunkirk was now raised, and the retreat was conducted by General Sir William Erskine.

CHAP. VI.

Trial and Execution of the Queen of France. Trial and Execution of Brissot and his Accomplices. Operations of the combined Armies. Campaign on the Rhine.

The Queen of France had been a close prisoner in the Conciergerie, ever since the execution of Louis; and it was owing to the lenity of the Brissotine party, and the intestine divisions which had arisen in the country, that her existence had hitherto been prolonged. At length, her hour was come. A member of the convention, in the name of the committee, reported, that as "the royalists wished for blood, they should have the blood of Brissot and his colleagues, and of Marie Antoinette, and her accomplices." This unfortunate princess had sustained the heavy weight of her sufferings with an uncommon degree of fortitude, and exemplary resignation. With the exception of books of devotion, she was chiefly engaged in reading "Barthelemey's Travels of Anacharsis into Greece." Her eyes had become red from weeping and restlessness; her hair turned grey, but her countenance was placid and serene, and her deportment royal and majestic.

The queen was brought before the revolutionary tribunal at Paris, October 15. When her majesty was interrogated as to her name, age, &c. she replied, that her name was Marie Antoinette Lorraine, of Austria, aged thirty-eight years; widow of the King of France; born at Vienna. The act of accusation was then read, drawn up by Antoine Quentin Fouquier, the public accuser, in the preamble to which the queen was compared to Mes-

saline, and also to Brunehaut, Fredigone, and Medicis, queens of France. The charges stated were as follows.

That the widow of Louis Capet, had been the scourge, and the bloodsucker of the French; that she had squandered the finances of France, to satisfy inordinate pleasures; and had transmitted millions to the emperor; that since the revolution, she had not for a moment withheld intelligence, and criminal correspondence, with foreign powers; and in the interior of the Republic, by agents devoted to her: that she caused white cockades to be distributed to the regiment of Flanders; that she ordered to be distributed counter-revolutionary pamphlets, such as "Petitions to the Emigrants;" "Reply to the Emigrants;" The Emigrants to the People;" "The shortest Follies are the best;" "The Order of March;" "The Return of the Emigrants," &c. that she caused a famine in Paris; that she planned the murder of the patriots in the *Champ de Mars;* that she was the means of occasioning the first retreat of the French army from Flanders; that the widow Capet forwarded to other courts, plans of the campaign; that she was the cause of the Swiss guards firing on the people on the 10th of August; that she influenced Louis Capet to commit tyrannical and despotic acts. The last charge combined all the falsehood and malignity that hell itself could devise. That the widow Capet in every respect immoral, and a *new Agrippina*, has not hesitated to prostitute herself with Louis Charles Capet, her son!

The president, Chevalier, then addressed the queen, saying, "You have heard your accusation, be attentive to the examination of the witnesses relative to the charges against you."

Louis Lecointre, deputy to the convention, deposed, that the queen had charged him with a memorial, in order to gain over to her service, twelve or fourteen persons she mentioned; he detailed what occurred at Versailles, when the Flanders regiment was entertained.

The President then asked the accused, if she had any observations to make upon this witness?

Queen. I have no knowledge of the greater part of the facts mentioned. It is true, I gave two colours to the national guard of Versailles; and it is also true, that we walked round the table on the day of the repast given by the *Gardes du Corps*, but this is all. The President hav-

ing asked, If she knew any thing about the famous bed of justice? and, whether Louis had read his speech to her, half an hour before he entered the hall of the representatives? The Queen answered, "My husband had great confidence in me; and that made him read his speech, but I made no observations."

John Baptist Lepierre, *ci-devant* Aide-major of the national guard, was the next witness; he deposed, "that being on guard in the Chateau, June 20, 1791, the day of the flight to Varennes, he had heard a report, that the aristocrats were to carry off the Queen, and the royal family, during the night, but that, notwithstanding, he had not observed any thing of the kind."

Public Accuser. By what quarter did you depart on the day that you fled?

Queen. By the door of the apartment of M. De Villequier.

Public Accuser. Who opened that door?

Queen. It was I.

In answer to other interrogatories she replied, That she was on foot; that Baillie and La Fayette, were ignorant of her departure; that she saw the latter in his carriage, in the square *de Carouzel*, at half past eleven at night.

Raussillon, a *ci-devant* judge of the revolutionary tribunal, deposed, That on the day of the siege of the castle of the Thuilleries, he saw under the bed of Marie Antoinette, some bottles, from which he concluded, that she had distributed wine to the Swiss soldiers. He then declared, that his intention, and that of other patriots, after having inflicted justice on the Etat-major of the Swiss guard, was to proceed to the convention to sacrifice the royal family who were there; we met (added he) Brissot and Guadet, who conjured us not to commit that political crime; I say political crime, for it can never surely be a crime in mortals to rid the earth of tyrants.

President. Have you any observations to make Marie Antoinette?

Queen. I am not acquainted with that gentleman; I do not know what he means.

Hebert declared, that as a member of the commune, he had been obliged to discharge, with the prisoners in the Temple, several functions; upon examining the effects of Marie Antoinette, he found in her pocket a

ritual, in the leaves of which was a sort of image, the emblem employed by the counter-revolutionists, on this was a heart with this inscription, *Jesu miserere nobis.* There was also found with Madam Elizabeth, a hat, which she said belonged to Louis Capet, though he had only one, which was in his chamber. The latter part of the testimony of this execrable wretch, related to the infamous charge alleged against the Queen concerning the Dauphin.

President. What have you to answer?

Queen. I answer, that the picture found in the ritual, was no emblem of a counter-revolution, but a simple figure of devotion, which had been given to my daughter. As to the hat, my sister assured me, that her brother had given it to her when he had been provided with a new one. As to my son, M. Hebert ought to know, that with respect to the homage I paid him, a mother always gives her children a preference to herself. To the other part of the deposition the Queen made no answer.

Public Accuser. Did not citizen Mionis bring along with him into the prison, an individual who let drop a pink, in which was enclosed a billet?

Queen. The fact is true.

Accuser. Who is the man who delivered to you this billet? Did you know him? What is his name? What were the contents of the billet? Did you answer it?

Queen. His name I do not recollect; the contents of the billet were, that he had been thrown into prison, but had found means to extricate himself; that he offered me money, and that he would return the Friday following: I answered by pricking upon a paper with a pin, that my guard never suffered me to be out of their sight, so that I had no opportunity to write or communicate with any person.

Accuser. Why were you startled at seeing this individual?

Queen. Because I was alarmed at the danger which he run in getting into my prison.

The tribunal was about to proceed in hearing another witness, when one of the jury requested the President to demand of the accused, to answer with respect to the crimes, the proofs of which rested upon the declarations of young Capet.

Queen. I remained silent on that subject, because nature holds all such crimes in abhorrence.

Abraham Sillery deposed, that being on duty at the Thuilleries, the accused came to him about six o'clock in the evening, and said, that she wished to walk with her son; that he charged the Sieur Laroche to accompany her; that some time after he saw La Fayette come five or six times to Gouvion; that the latter, about ten o'clock, gave orders to shut the gates; that on the morning Gouvion said to him, with an air of satisfaction, "They are gone." La Fayette quitted the palace at midnight. In answer to a series of questions from the President, the Queen mentioned, that she was furnished with the carriage in which she departed by Fersen, a Swede, who resided in *Rue de Bacq*, Paris; and that she travelled under the name of a Russian Baroness.

The next witness called was Bailli, the late mayor of Paris; he declared, that he had never any acquaintance with the *ci-devant* royal family; he asserted, that the facts contained in the act of accusation, respecting the declaration of Louis Charles Capet, was absolutely false. Bailli underwent a very severe examinination, tending to criminate himself, especially with respect to his connexion with La Fayette, and his firing upon the citizens at the *Champ de Mars*.

John Baptist Hibain, alias Perceval, deposed, that being at Versailles, October 1, 1789, in the capacity of aid-de-camp to the *ci-devant* Count d'Estaign, he spoke to him of the commotions in Paris, but he would not so much as hear him.

Rene Millet, a servant-maid, related, that one day she asked the Count de Coigny, in a moment of good humour, "Will the Emperor still continue to wage war against the Turks? Surely that must ruin France, on account of the immense sums the Queen sends her brother for that purpose, which must, at least, amount to 200 millions." "Thou art right enough, (said the Count,) it has cost already more than 200 millions, and we are not at the end of it yet." This woman also stated, that the Queen had formed a design to assassinate the Duke of Orleans; and the King being acquainted therewith, ordered her to be immediately searched, on which two pistols were found upon her; in consequence of this

the King had her confined to her own room for a fortnight.

To this story the Queen replied, "It is possible I might have received an order from my husband to remain a fortnight in my apartment, but it was not for a case similar to the above.

John Baptist Labennette affirmed, that three private men came to assassinate him in the name of the prisoner.

Francis du Fresne deposed, that having been in the room of the prisoner at the time a pink was brought her, knows, that on the billet therein concealed the following words were written, "What are you doing here? We have men and money at your service."

Magdelaine Rosay, gave additional evidence relative to the pink billet.

The Queen being questioned as to a small packet which was shewn her; she acknowledged it was the same as that on which she had put her seal, when she was transferred from the Temple to the Conciergerie.

The packet being opened, one of the officers of the court took an inventory of it, and called over its contents.

The first was some locks of hair of different colours.

Accused. They are the hair of my children, living and dead, and of my husband.

The next was a packet marked with cyphers.

Accused. This is only a table to learn my children to reckon.

Several papers were then read, containing memorandums of washing bills, &c.

A port-feuille of parchments and other papers were then produced, on which were written the names of different people.

The President demanded that the accused should explain them.

President. Who is the woman called Saletin?

Accused. She was for a long time charged with my affairs.

President. Who is the Demoiselle Vion?

Accused. She was employed in the care of my children's clothes.

President. And who is Mrs. Chaumette?

Accused. She succeeded Miss Vion.

President. What is the name of the woman who took care of your laces?

Accused. I do not know her name; some of my ladies employed her.

President. Who is Le Bernier, whose name is written here?

Accused. It is the name of the physician who attended my children.

The Public Accuser here demanded that mandates of arrest should be issued against the above-named ladies, and that Le Bernier should be simply ordered to attend.

The tribunal complied with this requisition.

The Register contained the inventory of the effects, in a packet found on Marie Antoinette.

A small pocket-book, containing scissors, needles thread, silk, &c.

A small looking-glass.

A golden ring with hair-work.

A paper, on which were two hearts in gold, with some initial letters.

Another paper, on which was written, 'Prayers to the sacred heart of Jesus, Prayers to the immaculate Conception.'

A portrait of a lady.

President. Whose portrait is this?

Prisoner. That of Madame de Lamballe.

Two other portraits of ladies.

President. Who are the persons these portraits represent?

Prisoner. Two ladies whom I was brought up with at Vienna.

President. What are their names?

Prisoner. The ladies of Mecklenburgh and of Hesse.

The other articles were, a paper containing 25 single Louis d'ors, a small canvas, with a heart painted with flames on it, pierced by a dart. The Public Accuser desired Hebert to examine this heart, and to declare if he knew it to be the same he found in the Temple? Hebert replied, it was not the same, but very much like it.

Gouvernot, an ancient officer in the French service, declared he had no knowledge of the facts contained in the act of accusation. Dupin, ex-minister of war, deposed, that he knew nothing of the charges in the indictment against the prisoner. After a long examination of

Dupin, the President put the following queries to the royal prisoner.

President. Have you not abused the influence you had over your husband, in asking him continually for drafts on the public treasury?

Prisoner. I never did so.

President. Where did you get then the money to build and fit out the *Petit Trianon*, in which you gave feasts, of which you were always the goddess?

Prisoner. There was a fund destined for that purpose.

President. This fund was then very considerable, for the *Petit Trianon* has cost enormous sums.

Prisoner. It is possible that the *Petit Trianon*, may have cost immense sums; it may be more than I wished; this expence was incurred by degrees: in fact, I desire more than any one, that every person may be informed what has been done there.

President. Was it not at the *Petit Trianon* that you saw, for the first time, the wife of La Motte?

Prisoner. I never saw her.

President. Was she not your victim in the affair of the famous necklace?

Prisoner. How could she be so, when I did not know her?

President. So you persist in denying that you ever knew her?

Prisoner. My intention is not to deny; I only speak the truth, and shall persist in so doing.

John F. Mathey, keeper of the Tower in the Temple, said, that on occasion of a song called, *Ah! il t'en souviendra du retour de Varenne;* (Ah! thou wilt remember thy return from Varennes;) he said to Louis Charles Capet, "Dost thou remember the returning from Varennes?" To which he answered, "Oh! yes, I remember it well." He then asked him, "How they did to carry him away?" He answered, "They took him out of the bed when asleep; and they dressed him in girl's clothes, saying, Come, you are going to Montmedy." This witness asserted, that he saw Jobert hand some medallions to the prisoner, when the daughter of Capet let one fall to the ground and broke it. After which he entered into a history of the hat found in Madame Elizabeth's box.

Prisoner. I have to observe, that the medallions men-

tioned by the witness, were three in number; that which fell on the floor and was broken, was the portrait of Voltaire; of the other two, one represented Medea, and the other some flowers.

Garnerin, secretary to the commission of twenty-four, deposed, that among some papers found in the house of Septeuil, he found a check for 80,000 livres, signed Antoinette, to the profit of the *ci-devant* Polignac; and another paper, proving that the prisoner had sold her diamonds, to send their produce to the emigrants.

The Queen denied, that she ever gave, or signed any checks.

President. Have you any knowledge of the immense forestallings of commodities of the first necessity, made by order of the court to starve the people, and compel them to demand again the former government, so favorable to tyrants?

Prisoner. I have no knowledge whatever of any forestalling.

Valaze, formerly delegate to the national assembly, stated, that among the papers which served to frame the indictment against Louis Capet, two related to the prisoner; the first was a check, or rather a receipt, signed for a sum of 15 or 20,000 livres; the other was a letter, in which the minister begged of the King to communicate to Marie Antoinette, the plan of the campaign presented to him.

The Queen denied knowing any thing either of the check or the letter.

Public Accuser. It seems to be proved, notwithstanding your denials, that through your influence over the *ci-devant* King, your consort, you made him do what you pleased.

Prisoner. There is a wide difference between advising an action, and executing it.

Nicholas le Bant, formerly a municipal officer, protested against any knowledge of the facts mentioned in the indictment. The same asseveration was made by Jobert, a municipal officer, and administrator of the police; he acknowledged that he had shewn the prisoner, and her daughter, some medallions in wax, allegorical of the revolution, as also the portrait of Voltaire; that he traded in articles of this nature, and received them from England.

Boye, a painter, stated, that he painted the portrait of the King, but had never spoken to the prisoner.

The Queen now drew a paper from her pocket, which she gave to one of her defenders.

The Public Accuser demanded to know what paper it was. The prisoner in reply said, "Hebert observed, that correspondence was carried on by means of our clothes and shoes; I wrote for fear of forgetting that all our clothes and effects were examined by the administrators of the police.

After various other interrogatories, the President closed with the following:

President. Why did you, who had promised to bring up your children in the principles of the revolution, teach them nothing but errors: in treating, for instance, your son with a respect which might make it believed, that you thought of seeing him one day the successor of the *ci-devant* King of France?

Prisoner. He was too young to speak on that subject: I placed him at the head of the table, to give him myself what he wanted.

President. Have you any thing to add to your defence?

Prisoner. Yesterday I did not know the witnesses; I knew not what they were to depose against me; and no person has produced against me any positive fact. I finish by observing, that I was only the wife of Louis XVI. and it was requisite in me to conform myself to his will.

The Public Accuser then addressed the assembly; he reminded the jury of the flagitious conduct of the late French court; of its efforts to kindle a civil war for its own advantage, according to the Machiavelian maxim, "Divide to reign." He considered Marie Antoinette as the avowed enemy of the French nation; as instigating the troubles which had taken place in France, for four years past, and through which thousands of Frenchmen fell victims.

Chauveau, and Ducondray, officially appointed by the tribunal to defend Antoinette, solicited the clemency of the court. The Queen being taken from the hall, the President of the tribunal summed up the evidence. In the course of his speech he said, "A great example is this day given to the universe, and it will surely not be

lost upon the nations which inhabit it. Nature and reason, so long outraged, are satisfied at last, and equality is triumphant. A woman, who lately occupied all the most brilliant appendages which the pride of kings, and the baseness of slaves, could invent, occupies now, before the tribunal of the nation, the place which was occupied two days ago by another woman; and this equality secures impartial justice. If it were permitted to me, in fulfilling a limited office, to give myself up to emotions which the passion of humanity imposes, we should have invoked before the jury, the names of our brethren at Nancy, at the *Champ de Mars*, at the frontiers, at La Vendee, at Marseilles, at Lyons, and at Toulon, in consequence of the infernal machinations of this modern Medicis: we should have brought before you the fathers, the mothers, the wives, and infants of those unhappy patriots; what do I say? Unhappy! They have died for liberty, and been faithful to their country; all those families in tears and despair, would have accused Marie Antoinette of having snatched from them every thing that was most dear in the world; and the deprivation of which renders life insupportable. In effect, if the satellites of Austrian despotism, have broken in for a moment on our frontiers; and if they have there committed atrocities of which the history even of barbarous nations does not furnish a parallel example: if our ports, our plains, and our cities are sold, or given up, is it not evidently the result of the manœuvres planned at the Thuilleries, and of which Marie Antoinette was the moving principle? I conclude by a general reflection, which I had already an opportunity of presenting: it is the French nation which accuses Antoinette; all the political events prove evidence against her. These are the questions which the tribunal has determined to submit to you:

1st. "Is it proved, that there existed machinations, and private intelligences, with powerful foreign states, and other external enemies of the Republic; such machinations and intelligences tending to furnish succours in money, and to give them ingress into the French territories, for the purpose of facilitating the progress of their arms?"

2d. "Is Marie Antoinette convicted of having co-

operated with those machinations, and of having entertained those intelligences?"

3d. "Is it proved, that there existed a plot, or conspiracy, to light up a civil war in the heart of the Republic?"

4th. "Is Marie Antoinette convicted of having had a share in that plot, and in that conspiracy?"

The jury, after an hour's deliberation, returned into the hall, and gave a verdict, *affirming all the charges submitted to them.*

The President then addressed the people as follows:

"If the citizens who compose this audience were not liberal men, and, consequently, capable of feeling all the dignity of their state, I ought, perhaps, to recall to their memory, that, at the moment when the national justice is about to declare the law, reason and morality impose upon them the most profound silence, and forbids every mark of approbation; and that a person, of whatever crimes he may be convicted, and attainted by the law, is then only entitled to pity and humanity."

The Queen being then brought to the bar, the President said, "Antoinette, hear the sentence of the jury, (which was then read,) you shall then hear the questions of the Public Accuser."

Fouquier then spoke, and demanded that the accused should be condemned to die; conformable to the first article of the first section, of the first head, of the second part of the penal code.

The President now called upon the Queen to declare, Whether she had any objections to make to the sentence of the laws demanded by the Public Accuser? Her Majesty bowed her head, in token of negative.

Tronson, the Queen's counsel, said, "Citizen President, the declaration of the jury being precise, and the law formal in this respect, I announce that my professional duty, with regard to the widow Capet, is terminated."

The President proceeded to pass the following sentence: "The tribunal, after the unanimous declaration of the jury, in conformity to the laws cited, condemns the said Marie Antoinette, called of Lorraine and Austria, widow of Louis Capet, to the penalty of death; her goods confiscated for the benefit of the Republic; and this

sentence shall be executed on the *Place de la Revolution.*"

The Queen, during the whole of this trying scene, preserved a calm and steady demeanor; her countenance was placid and unruffled, during the first part of her trial; she played with her fingers upon the bar of the chair, as if she was playing on a forte piano. When she heard the sentence read, she was equally serene, and left the hall without saying a single word to the judge, or the people. It was then half past four o'clock in the morning, Oct. 16. The Queen was conducted to a horrible dungeon, the condemned hole, the damp abode of reptiles of every description: into this dismal subterraneous cavern was the once lovely and beautiful Queen of France, sister of the Emperor of Germany, thrust, by the hands of the most ruthless ruffians that ever disgraced the human species.

At five o'clock the *generale* was beat; at eight the whole armed force was on foot, cannons were planted in the squares, and the extremities of the bridges from the palace to the *Square de la Revolution.* At ten o'clock numerous patroles passed through the streets. At half past eleven o'clock, Marie Antoinette was brought out of the prison, dressed in a white dishabille, like other malefactors; she was conducted in a common cart to the place of execution; her beautiful hair from behind was entirely cut off, and her hands were tied behind her back. On the right of the cart sat the executioner, and on the left a constitutional priest, belonging to the metropolitan church of *Notre Dame*, dressed in a grey coat and bob-wig; the cart was guarded by numerous detachments of horse and foot; Henriot Ronsin, and Boulanger, generals of the revolutionary army, preceded by the rest of the staff officers, rode before the cart; an immense mob, chiefly women, crouded the streets, insulted the Queen, and vociferated, "Long live the Republic." Marie Antoinette seldom cast her eyes upon the populace, and beheld with majestic indifference, the great armed force of thirty thousand men, which lined the streets in double ranks: the sufferings which she had sustained had much altered her appearance, and the hair on her forehead appeared as white as snow. The Queen occasionally conversed with the constitutional priest; she seemed quite insensible to the shouts of *Vive la Republic!* She even evidenced a kind of satisfaction, in looking for the mo-

ment which would terminate her miserable existence. When she passed through the street called *Rue de St. Honoré*, she sometimes occasionally looked attentively at the inscriptions affixed to the houses, Liberty and Equality. She ascended the scaffold with apparent haste and impatience, and turned her eyes, with great emotion, towards the gardens of the Thuilleries, where stood that splendid palace, the seat of her former greatness. At half past twelve o'clock, the guillotine severed her head from the body. The executioner lifted up and exhibited the bloody streaming head from the four different corners of the scaffold; the ferocious mob instantly cried out, "Long live the Republic." A young man, who dipped his pocket-handkerchief in the Queen's blood, and pressed it with veneration to his breast, was instantly apprehended. The body of the Queen was immediately after buried in a grave, filled with quick-lime, in the church-yard called *De la Madelaine*, where Louis XVI. was buried.

Thus perished, in a most disgraceful and ignominious manner, by the axe of the guillotine, in the 38th year of her age, Marie Antoinette, Lorraine of Austria, Queen of France, Arch-duchess of Austria, &c. Whatever were the errors of her Majesty, they were completely atoned for by her unparalleled and exquisitely cruel sufferings. If she sometimes lost sight of prudence and discretion, and was immersed in the vortex of gaiety; let us consider the dazzling temptations which surrounded her on every side at the gay court of Versailles, and *he that is without sin, let him cast the first stone at her.* Who were the judges of this unfortunate Princess? Men who had filled all the prisons with innocent victims of their tyranny and oppression; men the most debauched and dissolute, who mocked the existence of the Deity, and denied the immortality of the soul; who, under the mask of liberty, exercised the most cruel despotism; and while professing a regard for virtue, were *Colossal Statues of Vice;* and who acted agreeable to the declaration of one of the apostles of liberty and the *new philosophy*, "O Virtue! thou art but an *empty dream.*" †

† Helvetius *De l'Esprit*, discourses 2d and 4th. Mrs. Robinson, the British Sappho, has beautifully and pathetically delineated the sufferings of Marie Antoinette, in the following stanzas:

The execution of Marie Antoinette, was followed by the trial of Brissot de Warville, and his colleagues. A vast multitude of charges were brought against these deputies, accusing them of a determined design to destroy the liberty of the Republic; the revolutionary tribunal declared, that "they were the authors of, or accomplices in, a conspiracy which has existed against the liberty and safety of the French people," and, therefore, condemned them to death. Valaze, one of the accused, stabbed himself as soon as he heard the sentence pronounced. The tribunal ordered, that the body of the suicide should be conveyed separately, in a cart, to the *Place de la Revolution*, and to be interred in the same place with the bodies of the other persons condemned. The execution took place on October 31. Brissot ‡ observed silence, and appeared wrapt in thought. Sillery § bowed to the people, and conversed with a priest. Fauchet ‖ was also accompanied by, and conversed much with, his confessor. Lasource, formerly a French protestant minister, appeared deeply affected; the rest, namely, Duchatel, Ducos, Boyer, Fonfrede, Boileau, Gardian, Duchatel,

"When left forlorn, dejected, and alone,
Imperfect sounds, my pensive soul annoy;
I hear in every distant mingling tone
The merry bells—the boisterous songs of joy:
Ah! Then I contemplate my loathsome cell,
Where meagre *grief*, and scouling fever dwell.

"The City's din, the Tocsin's fatal sound,
The Cannon's thundering thro'the vaulted sky;
The curling smoke, in columns rising round,
Which from my iron lattice I descry.
Rouse my lethargic mind, I shriek in vain,
My tyrant jailor only mocks my pain."

‡ J. P. BRISSOT DE WARVILLE, was descended from a family of great respectability. He had before the breaking out of the revolution espoused republican sentiments; these were more deeply impressed on his mind, by travelling in the United States of America, where he paid a visit to General Washington. He published his Travels, which have been translated into English. Brissot was a stern and inflexible Republican; neither his fate, nor that of his colleagues, can excite pity, they received the reward, the wages of their iniquity.

§ SILLERY was a Marquis at the commencement of the revolution, the Marchioness, better known as Madame De Genlis, was Gouvernante to the children of Egalite.

† Bishop of CALVADOS, formerly a monk. He pronounced an elegant oration on the death of Dr. Franklin.

Duperut, Carra, Beauveau, Mainville, Antibouil, Vegée, and Lacaze, behaved with due fortitude. The following remarks appeared in the Paris papers on this sanguinary execution. "Thirty-seven minutes were sufficient to strike off the heads of these criminals; to dig a grave for *federalism*: and to leave the remaining scoundrels of the rump convention at Liberty to carry on their diabolical designs, a little more at ease."

Analogous to the above sentiments, is the opinion of an English writer, who appears to have gloried in the triumphs of the party which now tyranized over France. "That these men were Republicans, there can be no doubt, they proved it even on the scaffold, all the way to which they sang the Marseilles hymn, and five of them exclaimed, *Vive la republique*, when the axe was descending on their very necks; but they were Republicans too much *despoiled, by diplomacy* to love *equality*. A Republic with inequalities, which they might fill up, would have been more congenial to their dispositions; their *lives* were useful to Liberty; their *deaths*, will not be less so." ‡

A few days after the execution of the deputies, a female citizen, Olympia Gouges, who was in a state of pregnancy, was guillotined. The municipality of Paris, at this time decreed, that all persons who died a natural death, should be buried in twenty-four hours; and those who died suddenly, in forty-eight hours, after their decease; and to be interred in a spot distant from all inhabitants, and planted with trees, in the midst of which should be a monument with this inscription, "Death is eternal sleep!"

Although the campaign had in some instances been disastrous to the allies, yet, at the close, a more brilliant scene opened. Upon October 21, the French made an attack upon the advanced works of the camp at Menin; particularly those of Werwick and Halloin; they were every where repulsed; but the day following, they renewed the attack with great violence, and, at last, succeeded in gaining possession of Werwick; Menin being by this means exposed, Lieutenant-general Erback, who commanded there, found it necessary to evacuate the town, and to return with his corps upon Courtray. The

‡ Perry's Sketch of the French Revolution, vol. ii. p. 426.

enemy likewise attacked the camp at Cisoing, but were repulsed with near 400 men killed and wounded. On the 23d of October the French advanced upon Furnes, which was immediately abandoned; they proceeded from thence to Nieuport, but recourse having been had to the inundations, of which the country near that place is susceptible, they were obliged to retreat. His Royal Highness the Duke of York having determined to attack the enemy at Menin, General Walmoden, to whom the execution of this design was committed, marched to Courtray to take command of the corps which had formerly occupied Menin. On Oct. 27th, the Duke of York marched from the camp before Tournay, to take up his position between Boisieux and Cisoing. Different posts which the French had established were driven back. A piquet of six officers and 150 men, which had been posted at the village of Saingain, across the plain towards Lazemes; they had nearly reached that village, when a squadron of the second dragoon guards, led on by Major Crawford, Aid-de-camp to his Royal Highness, advancing with rapidity, gained their right flank, and charged them with so much vigor, that not a single man escaped; 104 prisoners were taken, and the rest killed upon the spot: the British squadron had only two men killed, and one wounded. In the mean time the enemy had made progress in another part of the country; they had attacked Nieuport, and passed through only with a small body of the canal of Ypres at Skoorback; in consequence of which General Wurmb fell back upon Chistel, in order to recover Bruges and Ostend. This change of General Wurmb's position, rendered abortive the plan formed for the attack of Menin. On the 28th, his Royal Highness sent a reinforcement of three battalions, to Lieutenant-general Ruselle, who had by this time advanced again with his corps to Moeschren, and distodged the enemy from that post, of which they had taken possession. On the evening of the 29th, the Duke of York sent two battalions of Austrian infantry, and some companies of light troops, with two twelve-pounders, and two howitzers, under General Werneck; and two battalions of British infantry, one squadron of the 7th, and one of the 18th light dragoons, under Major-general Abercrombie, to attack Lannoy; the heavy and well-directed fire of the British and Austrian artillery, occasioned the French to

retire in great disorder, part of them towards Lisle, and part towards Reubay; they were pursued with great spirit by Lieutenant-colonel Churchill, who killed and wounded near 100 men, and took 59 prisoners; several others were killed and taken by a party of Austrians who entered the town: there were taken in all about 150 prisoners, and 5 pieces of cannon; there were also near 300 killed; Captain Sutherland, of the Royal Engineers, an officer of acknowledged merit, fell upon this occasion. The enemy evacuated Menin, the same night the French also raised the siege of Nieuport. On the 29th, the Duke of York dispatched Major-general Kray, with eight battalions, to make an attack upon Marchiennes, a column of which advanced upon the high road from Orchies; the volunteers at the head of the column fell in with a piquet, killed the greater part, and pursued the rest into the town, which capitulated; 1629 prisoners were taken, and 12 pieces of cannon: 308 of the enemy were killed; and 80 of General Kray's corps killed and wounded. In an attack upon the French posts at Ors and Catillon sur Sambre, 400 of the enemy were killed, 100 made prisoners, and two pieces of cannon were taken.

The operations on the Rhine were carried on with great spirit and alacrity; General Wurmser receiving information that Haguenau had surrendered to an advanced corps under General Mazeroes, he immediately put the bulk of his army in motion, and arrived at Haguenau a few hours after it had been evacuated by the French, who had made so precipitate a retreat as to neglect breaking down the wooden bridge over which the artillery was to pass. On October 18, the enemy encamped on the right bank of the river Zorn, which runs through Brumpt; they crossed this river, and attacked General Mezaroes; the action lasted seven hours, but upon perceiving the rest of the Austrian army move forward, the enemy recrossed the river, and evacuated the heights and town of Brumpt, of which the Austrians took possession. The loss on the part of the French was 800 men; and that of the Austrians near half that number. At the same time the Prince of Waldeck advanced with his corps from Seltz, and marched along the banks of the Rhine; he captured Druzenheim; and, after having driven in the garrison of Fort Louis, invested that place.

The French abandoned their former position on the Lahrn, and retreated under the cannon of Strasbourg. In the brilliant affair of forcing the lines of Weissembourg and Lauterbourg, General Wurmer lost between 7 and 800 men, killed and wounded; while the loss of the French amounted to between 3 and 4000 men killed, near 600 prisoners, and 26 pieces of cannon. Thus successful were the allies on the Rhine.

CHAP. VII.

Naval Transaction at Genoa. Memorials to the Grand Duke of Tuscany. Destruction of the City of Lyons. Defeat of the Royalists in La Vendée. Capture of Toulon. Military Operations on the Rhine.

The intrigues of the French demagogues had biassed several of the neutral powers to a gross violation of their pretended neutrality; this was the case with respect to Genoa, and Tuscany. A British squadron, under the command of Admiral Gell, had arrived in the Mole. A French frigate, called *La Modeste*, of 38 guns, had armed two gun-boats to cruise against England; Admiral Gell being informed of this circumstance, ordered the Bedford to lie along side La Modeste, and command the French captain to pull down the Republican flag, and hoist the British colours; upon a refusal to comply with this order, the Bedford gave a salute of musquetry, which occasioned the French captain to strike. The admiral sent his first lieutenant on board to take the command, shifted the prisoners, manned the ship, and sent her to Toulon, then in the hands of the English. The Doge of Genoa ordered the admiral, and the French captain, to appear before the senate, when the conduct of the English admiral was fully justified.

A French minister had been received as accredited from the Republic by the court of Florence; Lord Her-

vey, the British ambassador, received orders to present two memorials to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, insisting upon the removal of M. La Flotte: these memorials not being attended to, his lordship presented a third on October 11, in which it was declared, "That the British court, in concert with its allies, was determined to tolerate no longer the neutrality of the Grand Duke; and that his Royal Highness, unless he should give a categorical answer within the course of twelve hours, from the delivery of this memorial, and communicate his resolutions before the expiration of that period, should be considered, and dealt with, as an enemy, on the part of the allied maritime powers. The Grand Duke, having received this memorial, gave immediate orders for M. La Flotte, and his suite, to quit the Tuscan territories in all possible haste; the Republican agent hastened to obey those orders without delay.

The city of Lyons had surrendered to the army of the convention on the 8th of October; this was communicated to the assembly by the minister of war, when the following terrible decree was passed:

"The city of Lyons shall be destroyed. Whatever was inhabited by a rich man, shall be demolished. The poor-house, the dwellings of slaughtered and proscribed patriots, the edifices specially designed for industry, and the monuments consecrated to humanity and public instruction [hospitals and schools] shall alone remain.

"The name of Lyons shall be effaced from the lists of the towns of the Republic. The re-union of houses preserved shall henceforth bear the name of *Ville Affranchie*, [Freed Town.]

"A column shall be raised upon the ruins of Lyons, to attest to posterity the crimes and punishment of the Royalists of that city, with this inscription:

"LYONS WARRED AGAINST LIBERTY;
LYONS IS NO MORE.
"THE 18TH DAY OF THE FIRST MONTH,
"SECOND YEAR OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC,
"ONE AND INDIVISIBLE."

The city of Lyons was supposed to contain one hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants. Its trade, in fine silks and velvets, was the most extensive of any city in Europe; for riches and commerce it was second only

to Paris; never was a city doomed to suffer such distressing scenes; already had the blood-thirsty myrmidons of the convention, put to death *two thousand* persons by the guillotine, and powder and ball; independent of the numbers which had been slain in the course of the siege; making the total loss to the country, *at least*, fifteen thousand persons; the confiscation of property in this once opulent city, amounted to the enormous sum of one hundred and fifty millions of pounds sterling! When the ferocious decree was put in execution, the houses, and other buildings and edifices of the rich merchants were razed to the earth; all those that had borne arms, were carried before the military tribunal, and when condemned, were shot; the number was so great, that they were bound together in fifties and sixties at a time, and blown to pieces by means of cannon loaded with grape shot, when their scattered mangled limbs were seen flying in the air.

The scenes of blood which were daily exhibited under this reign of terror, made the Royalists in the department of La Vendée, more zealous in their operations in resisting so odious a tyranny: "The Vendée may justly be considered as a vast fortress looking towards the sea, by which means an easy communication might be kept up with England, Spain, or any other country. The lower parts of this country are intersected with canals, and abound with salt marshes, which produce the most luxuriant pastures, and render an attack as difficult as a defence is easy; the more elevated parts are spread over with coppices and woods, the avenues and paths to which being only known to the natives, occasion great difficulties to an invading army, and afford ample security to the invaded. The dress of the Vendée soldiers is not a little curious; no care at all is taken about an uniform, they are, perhaps, reaping or mowing one half of the day, and fighting the other half; they assemble and disperse by sounds and signals; the bells of the towns and villages answer the purpose better than drums, of which they use but few. In the high lands the dress being short and light, a soldier, if pursued, hides his piece, and flies, like a bird, through the thickets, where he becomes inaccessible: in the low lands, he throws his firelock in a belt across his shoulder, and, with the assistance of a long pole, which he carries in his hand, skips over the

canals in the marshes like a deer, so that his enemy cannot attempt to pursue him, if he does, he is presently drowned or taken."

The first appearance of the war in La Vendée, was in March, 1793. The revolting army was headed by Charette; the taking of the town of Saumur, and crossing the Loire, led to the besieging of Nantz. General Conclaux defended this place; the siege was raised, but the Vendean army surrounded the Republican General Westerman at Chatillon; his infantry was cut to pieces, and all his cannon taken. General Biron, a *ci-devant* duke, was also totally defeated, with the loss of 8000 men. In subsequent attacks upon Sables, and Lucon, the Royalists sustained a loss.

General Rossignol, a notorious *Sans Culotte*, succeeded Biron in command of the Republican army; he marched to Dorce, which he took, and made himself master of the *Pont de cé*, a post of considerable importance. In the month of October, the Vendean force passed the Loire, to take its station on the principality of Talmont; but the fortune of this brilliant band of heroes began now to change, Charette was successively defeated by Generals Haxo, Dutruy, and Dufour; D'Elbé, another Vendean chieftain, was vanquished, and made prisoner.

In the extremity to which the loyalists were now reduced, application was made for assistance to the British government. In the ancient duchy of *Maine*, another party hostile to the convention, had arisen; these were denominated "Chouans," and they occupied the recules of the forests of Perire and Guerche. The Chouans now joined their forces to those of the Vendeans. It was proposed to cut off from the Republic, the peninsulate of land from the river *Velain*, to *St. Malo*; to establish a powerful army at Rennes, as a mid station; the design against St. Malo failed, but an attack was made on the town of Granville, in the vicinity of Jersey, Guernsey, and Alderney; in this attempt they were repulsed with great loss, La Roche Jacquelin, one of the generals, being killed; in consequence of this unfortunate event, a body of troops from England, commanded by the Earl of Moira, returned home, and the prosecution of the original plan of operations was abandoned.

A correspondence had secretly been kept up between Great Britain and Marseilles and Toulon; the latter is a place of the highest importance, being the chief port of the Mediterranean, and has a most capacious harbour. A negociation was carried on between the English admiral, Lord Hood, and the French admiral, Trugoff, then cruising in the Mediterranean, to deliver Toulon into the hands of the English, which took place August 28, when 1,500 men were landed from the English fleet; Fort Malign was immediately taken possession of by Captain Elphinstone, as well as the batteries at the mouth of the harbour. The Spanish admiral also joined the British fleet, and 1000 Spaniards were sent on shore. Admiral St. Julian made an effort to offer battle to the combined fleets; but the garrison of one of the forts which commanded the harbour, having threatened to fire red-hot balls on him, he retired to Marseilles. Lord Hood then took possession of the town; the Republican flag was taken down, and the British colours proudly waved on the ramparts; a new fort was erected at *Malbousquet*. The siege of Lyons being completed, the French army besieged Toulon; a considerable battery was raised on the height of Arenes, which much annoyed the new fort of Malbousquet; dispositions were made to attack this battery, and a corps of British, Sardinian, Neapolitan, Spanish, and (counter-revolutionary) French troops; amounting in all to 2,300, under the command of Major-general Dundas, marched from the town; the troops were obliged to cross the new river on one bridge only, to divide into four columns, to march across olive-ground, intersected by stone-walls, and to ascend a very considerable height, cut into vine terraces; yet they succeeded in surprising and forcing the enemy, and obtaining possession of the battery and height; but the troops, instead of forming upon, and occupying the wing and narrow summit of the hill, agreeable to their orders, their impetuosity led them to follow the French, to descend the heights, to ascend other distant heights, and, in disorder, to encounter such a superiority of force, as obliged them to make a precipitate retreat: Lieutenant-general O'Hara was wounded, and taken prisoner. The besiegers now stormed the forts which commanded the harbour, and drove the Royalists before them with prodigious slaughter: the allies despairing to retain posses-

sion of the town, resolved to evacuate it; Lord Hood covered the retreat; and Sir Sydney Smith having been ordered by the former to destroy all the French men of war, and the arsenal, that gallant officer set fire to ten ships of the line, the arsenal, the mast-house, the great store-house, and other buildings. Of thirty-one ships of the line, which the English found at Toulon, thirteen were left behind, nine were burnt at Toulon, one at Leghorn, and four had previously been conveyed by Lord Hood to Brest and Rochfort, with Republican troops, whose fidelity he could not rely upon. Admiral Trugoff, and Lord Hood, proceeded to Hieres Bay, where a number of the unfortunate inhabitants of Toulon landed. It was this siege that first brought into notice that extraordinary man, who was afterwards to make so distinguished a figure on the great theatre of the world, NAPOLEON BONAPARTE; he was selected by General Dugommier, when he was a subaltern in the army, to act as an engineer at Toulon; on which occasion he developed uncommon talent and ability. The subjugation of this important place, gave occasion for the exercise of that wanton barbarity which had been exhibited at Lyons, and Marseilles; an indiscriminate carnage took place, and the name of Toulon was changed to that of *Port de la Montagne*.

The successes of the allies on the Rhine, had occasioned not only a great reinforcement of troops to be sent for the augmentation of the French army, but a change of commanders also; Pichegru, and Hoche, men of great enterprize, were appointed to the superintendance of the army. These men were elevated from the ranks, and were highly esteemed by their brother soldiers; and the greatest successes attended their operations. The Prussians were defeated at Sarbruese, their camp at Bliescastel stormed, Deux Ponts captured, but the Duke of Brunswick arrested their career, and defeated the French army in two engagements near Lantern. Haguenau was, however, recaptured by the enemy, as also Weissembourg; the seige of Landau was obliged to be raised, and Germersheim and Spires were also taken by the French. General Wurmser was obliged to cross the Rhine, and the Duke of Brunswick to retreat to Mentz, when he soon after resigned the command of the army. Such was the unfortunate

termination of a campaign, which had opened so brilliantly; and thus were the laurels of a Wurmser, and a Brunswick, continually blasted.

CHAP. VIII.

Proceedings of the National Convention. Trial and Execution of Philip Egalité. Afflicting Scenes in the Prisons of Paris. Operations of the Spanish Army.

As the sanguinary scenes which Paris had exhibited, and almost every part of the kingdom, proceeded from the Mountain faction; the few individuals who yet remained in the convention, and who disapproved of the measures pursued, were contemptuously denominated "The Plain." The present rulers used every artifice to ingratiate themselves with the lowest of the populace; the poorest citizens were invited to attend the general meetings of the sections; for whom Danton procured a grant of forty sous per day, as a compensation for the loss their families sustained by the suspension of their labor. Cambon, the minister of finance, at this time, suggested a plan for consolidating the fortunes of the rich, on the basis of the Republic; this was to destroy all the ancient titles of the public creditors, and unite them all in one great book (*le grand livre*) numbers of annuitants, and others, were thus placed in a predicament which made it *their interest* to support the Republic. Various other modes of augmenting the national finances were had recourse to; the place of general interment for the kings of France, was the church of St. Denis, about ten miles from Paris, and it was the custom to enclose the hearts of the deceased monarchs in a vase of silver gilt; these vases were seized by the popular society of St. Denis, who sent word to the convention, that they were of sufficient value to equip a troop of horse. All the sepulchral monuments of the kings of France, preserved for so many years, were demolished by order of the conven-

tion, who ordered also that the name of St. Denis should be changed to "La Franciade."

On November 6, the detested Philip Egalité, the *ci-devant* Duke of Orleans, was brought before the revolutionary tribunal, where he underwent an interrogatory. Being asked with respect to his intimacy with Sillery? he replied, "I was attached to Sillery until the moment that I suspected his patriotism, when I did so, I refused any longer to see him." You have, nevertheless, (said the President,) committed the care of your children to his wife, who is now with them abroad. "Yes, (answered Egalité,) but that was at a time, when I had no reason to suspect Sillery." This most infamous character was condemned to death, at the same sitting at which he was tried; but, with a view to prevent his fate, he promised to make a great number of discoveries, and his execution was, in consequence, suspended for some hours; but when he found there was no possibility of escaping, he acknowledged that he was the author of the events of the 5th and 6th of October; and that all his machinations tended to revenge himself on a family, whose destruction he had sworn, but whose spoils he never wished to share. He impeached a great number of individuals, particularly Brissot, Dumouriez, Marat, and Robespierre, as agents in his crime, the latter had great difficulty in extricating himself on this occasion. When the act of accusation was read, he said, "That the day of his trial would be the happiest of his life." He was sentenced to die at two o'clock in the afternoon of the 6th of November, and at five o'clock he was conveyed in a cart to the place of execution; the eyes of the people were attentively fixed on him; the cart happened by accident to stop upon the *Place de la Egalité*, before his palace, he surveyed it with much attention, and turned his head to look at it as long as he could. To the exclamations of indignation, and curses, liberally bestowed by the mob, he made no reply, but appeared to treat them with indifference; when the cart arrived at the scaffold, he jumped upon it, and immediately laid down his head to suffer that punishment to which he was sentenced. On the same day, and on the same scaffold, was also executed, M. Constard, a deputy to the convention.

The execution of Egalité was followed by that of many persons eminent in the annals of the revolution: M. Bail-

ly, the first mayor of Paris, who was condemned for firing on the people in the *Champ de Mars.*† Manuel, a deputy; General Brunet; Madame Roland;‡ and Habaud de St. Etienne;§ Clavierre, who was also sentenced to suffer by the guillotine, avoided public disgrace, by private suicide.

Amidst the horrors of the revolution, there was a class of sufferers, to whom the axe of the guillotine would have been an exercise of mercy. Who would compare the sufferings of St. Paul by decapitation, to those of St. Laurence, on the gridiron? Thus, in a comparative view, were the sufferings of thousands, and tens of thousands, now immured in the prisons, to those who suffered on the scaffold. "The tragical prison scene commenced in the month of September, 1793; it was preceded by a speech from the mayor of Paris, at the head of a deputation; he observed, that rich men, and wealthy farmers, had purchased the lands of their former masters, and were speculating on the misery of the people; it is time (said he) to put an end to a crisis which has lasted since 1789; we must destroy our enemies, or they will destroy us; the tyrants of the people have thrown down the gauntlet, and the people have accepted the challenge; and you, sacred Mountain, (addressing himself to the members on the upper seat,) be the *Sinai* of the French; hurl the thunders of the people's will, holy Mountain! Become a volcano, and efface from the earth all who wish the destruction of liberty. Legislators, *away with pity, away with mercy, let us put between them and us, a barrier of eternity.*" He then recommended the speedy completion of the revolutionary army, and the necessity of accompanying it with an incorruptible tribunal, the fatal instrument which was to cut the thread of conspiracies, and the life of the conspirators together. "Let it be especially charged (said he) to compel avarice to disgorge

† JOHN SYLVAN BAILLI, was an eminent astronomer, and was the author of various works on philosophic science.

‡ MADAME ROLAND was a woman of extraordinary talents, she published an interesting work, denominated, "An Appeal to posterity;" which was, in fact, the political history of her own life.

§ ST. ETIENNE, was a French Protestant Clergyman, and author of some works of merit. He was a distinguished member of the national assembly, and an eloquent speaker.

the riches of nature; and that we bear on our banners the words, 'Peace to the well affected, war to famishing justice. No oppression.'"† In compliance, the committee of public welfare had lately received the addition of two members of the most sanguinary nature, in the persons of Collot d'Herbois, and Billaud de Varennes. The convention had resolved upon adopting a most severe measure against all foreigners, but especially the English. Robespierre, on this occasion, observed, that all strangers ought to be suspected, and particularly those who appeared to be patriots; that the enemies of France employed those whose patriotism appeared to be most fierce: he confessed that the law was severe; it might affect some respectable philosophers, but men of that description were few, and in every other respect it was so wise and magnanimous, that it would find apologists in those who were affected by it. Danton said, "Do not deceive yourselves, English polish is deceitful; it is with gold that its government obtains possession of our fleet; it is with gold that it sows divisions in the Republic: its ministers have given brevets of exclusion to the agents they have among us; these agents, our pretended friends, and victims of what they call liberty, deceive us so much the more easily, as their brevets are supposed to be genuine; it is by their means that the English gold circulates amongst us, debauches our administrators, and our public spirit." Danton then moved, that the law against the property of foreigners, be extended to all subjects of the powers with whom France was at war.

A decree, which had been previously drawn up by the committee, was read, and passed immediately, in the following words:

"All the English, Scotch, Irish, and Hanoverians of either sex, and all the subjects of the King of Great Britain generally, who are at present within any part of the territories of the Republic, shall, immediately after the present decree is received, be put in a state of arrest in houses of security, and seals be put upon their papers; and the effects of those subjects of the same nation who are absent, shall be seized and confiscated for the benefit of the Republic.

† Perry's Historical Sketch, vol. ii, p. 480.

"All retainers, warehousemen, &c. of such effects, shall be obliged to make a declaration of them within twenty-four hours after the publication of the present decree, to the administration of their district, under pain of ten years imprisonment in chains, and fine equal to the value of the undeclared object; half to be given to the informer.

"The executive power is required to expedite this decree in the course of the day, by couriers extraordinary.

"Every public officer who may be convicted of having neglected the execution of the present decree, shall be punished with ten years imprisonment in irons.

"Any person lodging individuals of the above description, and not making his or her declaration within twenty-four hours, shall be punished with ten years imprisonment in irons.

"Workmen born in the territory of the King of Great Britain, at present occupied and employed in France, and have been so for six months, and children under twelve years of age, placed in French schools, are excepted from this decree; seals, however, shall be put upon their papers."

Anacharsis Cloots, a Prussian nobleman, who designated himself as the orator of the human race: a man who, through the *mania* of democracy, had emigrated from his native country, and obtained a seat in the national assembly; who had forsaken his king; had denied his God, and had blasphemed the Saviour of the world; had formed a strict intimacy with Thomas Paine; and both these redoubtable champions of liberty, equality, and the religion of nature, were, by the operation of this decree, sent to prison. The printed definition of what a *suspected* person was, being dispersed throughout all the districts of France, fifty thousand prisons, or houses of arrest, were filled immediately with prisoners of that description, of both sexes, and of all descriptions. Mr. Sampson Perry, an author we have often quoted, an *admirer of French liberty*, was among the number of the English thus incarcerated; his description is of a glowing nature, and we may rest assured it is not exaggerated; we shall present our readers with it:

"In the same room, as well to sleep as eat, would be found men and women, who had, perhaps, met there or

the first time in their lives. An English baronet and an English groom, an English lady and an English cook, &c. &c. were in this situation many weeks before they were placed in prisons appropriated to their respective sexes. There is something laughable, as well as mournful, in this picture of the situation of the persons who fell within the decrees of arrestation. It was the author's lot to be carried to the prison of the *Madelonnettes*, an ancient convent of that name, now converted into a very strong prison. There were in the prison at the time, a considerable number of his countrymen, who had been arrested by a former decree, the effect of which might have been superseded by six respondents. To dwell upon the horrors which this mansion of woe exhibited from day to day, during a three months' residence in it, would be to write a large volume. Every day, every hour, every minute, poured in new, and often innocent victims to the revolutionary regimen. The Madelonnettes was guarded by numerous centinels and *gens d'armes*, and further, by prodigious large mastiff dogs, let loose during the night. The rapidity with which these arrests were made, prevented an examination (proces verbal) into the nature of the accusation; the gaolers had scarce time to enter their prisoners' names in a book. It should be observed, that no women were brought prisoners into the Madelonnettes, and but for a short time were they allowed to enter in to speak to their husbands. When this interdiction took place, then was human distress seen to be wound up to its highest pitch; multitudes of tender frames exposed in all weathers; when it was difficult to say which poured fastest on the ground, their tears or the rain." Mr. Perry adds, "In the same corridor with the author, were about twenty Frenchmen, chiefly of the noblesse. As a specimen of the havoc which the revolutionary axe made on the prisoners in general, it may suffice to mention how these his fellow prisoners were disposed of; Colonel Newton, and Mr. Harrop, were Englishmen: one in the same room, the other in the next to him; the former was guillotined on June 6, 1794, the latter on July 23, in the same year. Latour Dupin, minister of war to Louis XVI. and Latour Dupin Gouvernet, a Marquis, and a Lieutenant-general of the forces, were both guillotined April 28, 1794; the former at the age of 66 years, and the lat-

ter at the age of 72. Moncrief, senior, and Moncrief, junior, the former a Scotchman, and the latter a Frenchman, both having filled offices of trust in the old government, were executed in the month of May, 1794. Menil Durand, Arthur Dillon, Querron Vernquelin, Mr. Ward of Dublin, a General of brigade in the French service, his servant, and two other persons, were also executed." †

The arrests were so conducted, that whole bodies of persons were sent to prison at one time; thus the Parisian guards, arrested and made prisoners, all the aristocratic part of the audience of the opera-house. At another time, a whole company of comedians were committed to prison, for performing a piece inimical to sentiments of liberty and equality; they were absolutely sent in all the paraphernalia of theatrical dress, with mock diadems, gorgeous robes, brilliant coronets, &c.

The court of Madrid had long delayed the commencement of hostilities; at length the following proclamation was issued by General Ricandos, the commander of the Spanish army against France:

"The army over which the King has been pleased to give me the command, does not enter France with hostile intentions. His Majesty, a constant friend of the French monarchy and nation, only proposes to himself to deliver her from the horrid despotism with which she is oppressed and tyrannized by an unlawful, usurping, and unruled assembly, who, after having subverted and trod upon religion, laws, and the safety of public and individual property, after having committed and ordained, in cold blood, the most unheard of murders, on the most respectable and innocent persons, have filled the measure of their iniquities, by sheding the blood of their lawful and well-meaning Sovereign.

"For these reasons, the King orders me to declare, as I do declare in his name, that all good Frenchmen who, abhorring the erroneous and perverse maxims that have produced, and are productive of an overthrow, as fatal as it is disastrous, shall declare themselves to be attached to their Monarch, will find in his Majesty every kind of protection and support:—That the troops whom

† Perry's Sketch of the French Revolution, vol. ii. p. 488.

I have the honor to command, shall observe the most scrupulous discipline, and shall in no manner attack the safety and property of any body:—That the speediest justice shall be done to every Frenchman who shall make a well-founded complaint against any individual whatever of the Spanish army; and that the troops shall pay ready money for whatever is sold or furnished to them. On the contrary, all those will be persecuted who, persevering in false principles, or deluded by the attraction of an illusory liberty, shall side with the pretended national convention, and act against the good cause, either in a hostile manner by advice, or by suggestions; and all such shall be treated as rebels and traitors to religion, their Sovereign, and native country.

(Signed) "RICANDOS."

Early in the spring, Don Ventura Caro, drove the French from the fort of Andaya, and destroyed some neighbouring encampments. Don Ricandos marched into Catalonia, and defeated the French army at Givet, and invested Bellegarde, which was taken after a month's bombardment; Ricandos also defeated the French army at Perpignan. These advantages were, however, counter-balanced by a defeat which the Spanish forces sustained by General Dagobert; and the forcing of an entrenched camp belonging to them, at Peres-cham, by which they lost twenty pieces of cannon. At the close of the year Catalonia was nearly in possession of the Republican forces.

CHAP. IX.

Abolition of the Christian Religion in France. New Calendar. Execution of Madam Du Barré.

Long before the revolution in France had broken out, there had been a combination among some of the French literati, to introduce, progressively, an indifference to religion in general, and by the operation of that on the

public mind, to make a general attack upon Christianity, and gradually lead the proselytes to deism, and to a renunciation of the principles of *Natural Religion*; at the head of this band of free-thinkers was Voltaire; his chief associates in this work of infidelity were, D'Alembert, Freret, Boulangér, Helverius, Condorcet, Diderot, Meslior, and Dumarsais. The Roman Catholic religion being that of the established church of France, was a circumstance highly favourable to the evil designs of these men, who assumed to themselves the title of Sages and Philosophers; Voltaire led the van, by indirectly attacking the Christian religion, as it appears in the church of Rome; by exposing the errors of that church, he adroitly attacked the fundamental doctrines of Christianity; and yet in so disguised a manner, that the unwary were taken by surprise; and those not well versed in a knowledge of the external and internal evidences of the Christian religion, became infidels without at first being aware of their scepticism. The too great success which followed this mode of attack, led to more undisguised attempts to overthrow the foundations of the Christian faith.

Voltaire in one of his letters, observes, "The monster (that is Christianity) must fall pierced by a hundred invincible hands; yes, let it fall beneath a thousand repeated blows." † His coadjutors went further, their task was to extinguish the idea of the existence of a God; ‡ or of the smallest difference between good and evil, virtue and vice; § boldly asserting, "That the soul is not a distinct being from the body." ‖ To a nation so gay and frivolous as the French, maxims and principles of such a nature were eagerly embraced. A sensible

† Letters, 1st May, 1768, as quoted by the Abbé Barruel. Memoirs of Jacobinism. Voltaire actually wrote a Commentary on the Pentateuch, for the express purpose of ridiculing the sacred volume.

‡ Freret says expressly, "Imagination daily creates fresh chimeras, which raise the impulse of fear, and such is the *phantom* of the Deity."
Letters from Thrasybulus to Lucippus, page 164.

§ "All ideas of virtue and vice, of justice and injustice, of glory and infamy, are purely arbitrary and dependent on custom."
Freret. Ibid.

‖ Helvetius in his Treatise on the Mind, asserts, "That we are in an error, when we make the Soul a spiritual being; nothing can be more absurd, the Soul is not a distinct being from the body."
Of the Spirit of Man, and of his Education. Sect. 4 *and* 5.

writer, speaking of the *religion* of the French, remarks, "The religion of France has ever been the drum-head; the pious fraud of the monastic and cloister endowment, served but for an exemption from patriotic contribution; and to the prejudice of national revenue. But, as soon as it was clearly perceived, that the body politic was ruined and undone, whilst the body ecclesiastic rolled in abundance, it was immediately determined, without a dissenting voice, that a religious profession was no title to exclusive affluence, on any score of pretended piety, or affected godliness. This is no new case, Cicero tells us, that the Roman tax-gatherers would not suffer any lands to be tax free, because they belonged to the immortal Gods. The misfortune however is, that the true religion is involved in the disgrace of the false one, and no pains are taken to distinguish the one from the other." †

With respect to the parties which arose out of the ruins of monarchy to govern, in their turn, the unwieldy and gigantic Republic of France, the Brissotines, and Girondites, or Federalists, were favorable to the principles of natural religion, although they abhorred Christianity. Those who now governed France were Atheists, and it was essential to their interest to make the nation at large Atheists also; the public exercise of religion was now interdicted; if any of the Parisians were inclined to close their shops on Sundays, that circumstance alone rendered them amenable to the laws, and insured an immediate arrest. A number of the constitutional clergy were avowed enemies to Christianity; and now, at the suggestion of Robespierre, and the leaders of the convention, they pulled off the mask, and made a public renunciation of it at the bar of the assembly. Gobet, ‡ Archbishop of Paris, with his clergy, made the declara-

† Letters from Paris, p. 290.

‡ The ABBE GOBET, Bishop of Lydda, previous to the union of the orders, displayed the greatest zeal for the rights and interests of the clergy; it was then necessary for him to conciliate the favor of the majority of the order, that he might not be excluded from the assembly, as a foreign bishop; when his conduct and his principles appeared so pure to his colleagues, that they examined his powers very slightly, in order that they might not be under the necessity of declaring them null; which would have been the consequence of verifying strictly. But after the union of the orders, the reasons for which the Abbé Gobet's depu-

tion, "That they owned no temple, but the sanctuary of the laws; no God, but liberty; no gospel, but the constitution." The example of Gobet was followed by the rest of the clergy throughout the different departments.

To expunge as much as possible the very idea of what had existed when religion prevailed in France, it was resolved to make a New Calendar, and abolish the old method of computing time by the Gregorian. This new æra was to be reckoned from the foundation of the Republic, which took place September 22, 1792, the day on which the sun arrived at the true autumnal equinox, entering the sign Libra, nine hours, eighteen minutes, thirty seconds, A. M. for the Observatory of Paris. The commencement of each year was fixed at midnight. The

tation had been confirmed by the chamber of the clergy, would have sufficed for its being pronounced null by the majority of the national assembly, if he had not secured the protection of the factious, by promising to change his principles and conduct totally, and to range himself in their party. He was true to his promise, and rewarded with the archbishopric of Paris. M. Bertrand de Molleville relates the following anecdote of this apostate prelate: "In 1792, he went to the Marquis de Spinola, the Genoese minister, with whom he had requested an interview on business of the utmost importance; 'I come, Sir, (said he to him) to impart to you a grand project, which my conscience has suggested to me, and the success of which greatly depends upon you; the matter is this, Divine Providence has granted me grace, to see the enormity of the crime I have committed, in taking the constitutional oath; I wish to retract it; I have, perhaps, rendered myself still more guilty, by accepting the bishopric of Paris; I am resolved to resign it; but I would make my recantation and resignation in a manner so solemn, that there should result from them, in favor of religion, a benefit greater than the injury I have done it by my scandalous conduct.' The Marquis could not but be edified by this resolution, but he could not conceive how he could be interested in the business. The Abbé Gobet soon solved the enigma; 'Not to mention the danger of being massacred, (continued he) to which I expose myself by so striking a conduct, it is certain, that I shall be deprived of all kind of stipend; the decree is positive on that head: I have no fortune, and I have been under the necessity of contracting debts; if I am ruined and left a bankrupt for having done my duty, my example will not have many followers; I wish, therefore, to know, Sir, whether it would be agreeable to you, or not, to undertake to impart my intention to the Pope, and solicit for me, the assistance of an hundred thousand crowns, which would be enough to pay my debts, and secure me a subsistence: this sum may appear to you a large one, yet it is very moderate, if you consider that the salvation of religion in France may depend upon it?" The Marquis refused to take a part in the business. Gobet afterwards perished by the guillotine.

three autumnal months were named, Vendemiare, Brumeire, Frimaire; the winter months, Nirose, Pluriose, Ventose: the spring months, Germinal, Floreal, Praireal; the summer months, Mersidor, Thermidor, and Fructidor. The days of each Decade were, Primidi, Duodi, Sudi, Quartidi, Quintidi, Sextidi, Septidi, Octodi, Nerrodi, Decadi: the five days called *Complimentary*, were denominated *Sans Culottides*; they were dedicated to festivals of virtue, genius, labor, opinions, and rewards; the observance of saints' days, and other holidays, were of course discontinued upon the establishment of this heathenish calendar. What little commerce remained in France was most essentially injured by this new fangled and absurd mode of marking the progress of time. Fabre D'Eglantine had the honor, if honor it was, to arrange this calendar.

The opposition to religion and royalty went hand in hand: if there remained not a vestige of the worship of the Deity; if the solemn temples were destined to the most menial uses; so the *gorgeous palaces* of princes were converted into military storehouses, and depots for provisions; while even the effigies of kings were, by a decree, obliterated from playing cards: the four kings were superceded; Lycurgus succeeded the king of *Clubs*; Solon his majesty of *Hearts*; instead of the king of Diamonds arose Numa;† and Cato usurped the place of the king of Spades! Amidst these ridiculous innovations the work of blood and slaughter went on, and the guillotine was the order of the day.

The celebrated Madame Du Barry, mistress of Louis XV. was living; her riches were immense. In the convention, Chauzel requested his colleagues, to set an example which would contribute much towards the *regeneration of manners in France!* He reminded the convention, that a prostitute of the name of Du Barry, enjoyed an immense property, *belonging to the nation*, which Louis XV. the *Sardanapalus* of France, had lavished upon her. He closed by moving, that all her property should be confiscated. This lady had lost a quantity of diamonds, amounting to the value of near fifty thousand pounds, which she afterwards recovered in England. The accusation against Madame Du Barry,

† Numa Pompilius, King of Rome—a strange inconsistency this!

charged her with having entered into a conspiracy against the unity and indivisibility of the French Republic; with having succoured the enemies of France, by furnishing them with great sums in the different journies which she undertook to Great Britain, from whence she did not return for many months; that she had kept up a correspondence and intimacy with the emigrants; that she had lived on terms of *familiarity with the English minister*, (Mr. Pitt,) whose portrait she preserved with great care; that she had made a collection of counter-revolutionary works; that she had preserved her letters of nobility, by burning them, as well as the busts of the royal family; and finally, that she had created great dissipations in the finances, by her unbounded extravagance.

Upon these charges Madame Du Barry was found guilty by the revolutionary tribunal, and condemned to die; the execution of her sentence was suspended on account of her having declared, that she would disclose some important secrets. It being found that this declaration had purposely been made for delaying the execution of the sentence, orders were immediately made for her speedy death. On December 9, she was carried in a cart to the *Place de la Revolution*. Her behaviour was by no means firm; the executioner was under the necessity of supporting her in his arms during the whole way; when she arrived at the foot of the scaffold, the two assistants of the executioner were obliged to lift her upon it; when they were on the point of fastening her to the plank, she exerted all her strength, and ran to the other side of the scaffold; but she was soon brought back and tied, and her head was immediately struck off.

CHAP. X.

Proceedings in the British Parliament. Opening of the Campaign. Battle of Fleurus. Invasion of Corsica by the English. Proceedings of the National Convention.

1794. On January 21, (the anniversary of the execution of the King of France,) his Britannic Majesty delivered the sentiments of the British government on the war with France, in the following speech from the throne:

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"The circumstances under which you are now assembled require your most serious attention.

"We are engaged in a contest, on the issue of which depend the maintenance of our constitution, laws, and religion, and the security of all civil society.

"You must have observed with satisfaction the advantages which have been obtained by the arms of the allied powers, and the change which has taken place in the general situation of Europe since the commencement of the war.

"The United Provinces have been protected from invasion. The Austrian Netherlands have been recovered and maintained, and places of considerable importance have been acquired on the frontier of France.

"The recapture of Mentz, and the subsequent successes of the allied armies on the Rhine, have, notwithstanding the advantages recently obtained by the enemy in that quarter, proved highly beneficial to the common cause.

"Powerful efforts have been made by my allies in the south of Europe; the temporary possession of the town and port of Toulon has greatly distressed the operations of my enemies; and in the circumstances attending the evacuation of that place, an important and decisive blow has been given to their naval power by the conduct, abilities, and spirit of my commanders, officers, and forces both by sea and land.

"The French have been driven from their possessions and fisheries at Newfoundland; and important and va-

luable acquisitions have been made both in the East and West Indies.

"At sea our superiority has been undisputed, and our commerce so effectually protected, that the losses sustained have been inconsiderable in proportion to its extent, and to the captures made on the contracted trace of the enemy.

"The circumstances by which the further progress of the allies has been hitherto impeded, not only prove the necessity of vigour and perseverance on our part, but at the same time confirm the expectation of ultimate success.

"Our enemies have derived the means of temporary exertion from a system which has enabled them to dispose arbitrarily of the lives and property of a numerous people, and which openly violates every restraint of justice, humanity, and religion. But these efforts, productive as they necessarily have been of internal discontent and confusion in France, have also tended rapidly to exhaust the natural and real strength of that country.

"Although I cannot but regret the necessary continuance of the war, I should ill consult the interests of my people, if I were desirous of peace on any grounds but such as may provide for their permanent safety, and for the independence and security of Europe.

"The attainment of these ends is still obstructed by the prevalence of a system in France equally incompatible with the happiness of that country, and with the tranquillity of all other nations.

"Under this impression I thought proper to make a declaration of the views and principles by which I am guided: I have ordered a copy of this declaration to be laid before you, together with copies of several conventions and treaties with different powers, by which you will perceive how large a part of Europe is united in a cause of such general concern.

"I reflect with unspeakable satisfaction on the steady loyalty and firm attachment to the established constitution and government, which, notwithstanding the continued efforts employed to mislead and to seduce, have been so generally prevalent among all ranks of my people. These sentiments have been eminently manifested in the zeal and alacrity of the militia to provide for our internal defence, and in the distinguished bravery and

spirit displayed on every occasion by my forces, both by sea and land: they have maintained the lustre of the British name, and have shewn themselves worthy of the blessings which it is the object of our exertions to preserve.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"I have ordered the necessary estimates and accounts to be laid before you; and I am persuaded you will be ready to make such provision as the exigencies of the time may require. I feel too sensibly the repeated proofs which I have received of the affections of my subjects not to lament the necessity of any additional burthens. It is, however, a great consolation to me to observe the favourable state of the revenue, and the complete success of the measure, which was last year adopted, for removing the embarrassments affecting commercial credit.

"Great as must be the extent of our exertions, I trust you will be enabled to provide for them in such a manner as to avoid any pressure which could be severely felt by my people.

"My Lords, and Gentlemen,

"In all your deliberations you will undoubtedly bear in mind the true grounds and origin of the war.

"An attack was made on us and on our allies, founded on principles which tend to destroy all property, to subvert the laws and religion of every civilised nation, and to introduce universally that wild and destructive system of rapine, anarchy, and impiety, the effects of which, as they have already been manifested in France, furnish a dreadful, but useful lesson to the present age and to posterity.

"It only remains for us to continue to persevere in our united exertions: their discontinuance or relaxation could hardly procure even a short interval of delusive repose, and could never terminate in security or peace.

"Impressed with the necessity of defending all that is most dear to us, and relying, as we may with confidence, on the valor and resources of the nation, on the continued efforts of so large a part of Europe, and, above all, on the incontestable justice of our cause, let us render our conduct a contrast to that of our enemies, and, by culti-

vating and practising the principles of humanity, and the duties of religion, endeavour to merit the continuance of the Divince favor and protection, which have been so eminently experienced by these kingdoms."

The address on his Majesty's speech was ably supported by Lord Auckland, who most impressively expatiated on the dreadful scenes of pillage, cruelty and impiety which distinguished the French Republic; he, therefore, earnestly coincided with his Majesty's ministers, in recommending a zealous prosecution of the just and necessary war in which Great Britain was engaged with France. The Duke of Portland, and Earl Spencer, were of a similar opinion; as were Lord Grenville, and the Earl of Mansfield. In the lower house, Mr. Pitt, in his accustomed strain of splendid eloquence, energetically enforced the propriety and expediency of continuing the war with France, until the rulers of that ill-fated country should be inclined to renounce their ideas of terrestrial aggrandisement, and the peace and security of Europe be ensured. The Earl of Mornington (now Marquis of Wellesley), Mr. Windham, the secretary at war; and Mr. Dundas, supported the opinion of the premier: on the other hand, Colonel Tarlton, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Sheridan, urged the necessity of entering into an immediate negociation with France. A bill was passed for the augmentation of the militia. And on April 28, a message was delivered from his Majesty by Mr. Dundas, relative to a treaty which had been entered into with the States General, and the King of Prussia; by this alliance it was guaranteed, that his Prussian Majesty should furnish 62,000 troops; for which his Britannic Majesty was to pay 50,000l. per month; 100,000l. for forage; 400,000l. to put the army in motion; and 100,000l. on their return; making an amount of one million two hundred thousand pounds, out of which the States General were to pay 400,000l.

The operations on the Rhine commenced with the inhabitants of Alsace rising in a mass, and marching to the relief of Landau, which town had been closely besieged for four months; they forced the lines before Haguenau, and formed a junction with the armies of the Rhine, and the Moselle, under General Hoche, the blockade of Landau was raised, and Strasbourg retaken: when the French were at Durkhum they imposed a contribution of

70,000 florins, and carried off all the provisions and wines, burnt all the archives in the castle, destroyed the halls, plundered the churches, carried off the bells, and all the stills for brandy, wine presses, &c. every inhabitant was obliged to deliver up his utensils in pewter, lead, or copper. The Jews having refused to deliver up the lamps of their synagogue, were imprisoned, and most rigorously chastised.

The Austrians now pressed the siege of Landrecy, which was compelled to surrender at discretion. A column of the French having marched against Arlon, General Beaulieu was obliged to retire to Luxembourg; the centre column was defeated by the English and Imperialists; and the left column penetrated into West Flanders, defeated General Clairfayt near Menin, and took possession of Courtray. While the army of the enemy was at this place, it was resolved in a council of war, held by his Royal Highness the Duke of York, that all communication should be cut off from Lisle; to effect this, his Highness advanced from Roubaix to Lanoy, May 18, but being intercepted in his march, he was separated from his men, and had nearly been taken prisoner. The principal object of the allies was to drive the Republicans out of Flanders. The Emperor Francis commanded the Austrians in person, and on March 17, a general attack had been made, which proved unsuccessful: the French then made an attack on the allies posted at Tourcoing, when the British battalions were surrounded, but, with astonishing heroism, cut their way through the enemy's ranks. General Pichegru afterwards made a general attack, with a design of forcing the passage of the Scheldt, to invest Tournay; on this attack the enemy was defeated with great loss, and retreated to Lisle. General Beaulieu, at the same time, took the town of Bouillon by storm, and gave it up to be pillaged by his soldiers, as a punishment for the inhabitants having fired on the Austrian troops. The French army having repassed the Sambre, re-captured L'Evegue and Binch; they were, however, surprised by General Kaunitz, and routed with the loss of fifty pieces of cannon, and near five thousand men, about three thousand of whom were prisoners. Another defeat followed before Charleroi, by the army under the command of the Hereditary Prince of Orange. The reinforcements con-

tinually sent by the convention were so amazingly great, notwithstanding these recent losses, that another army of 40,000 men entered Luxembourg, and caused General Beaulieu to retire from Bouillon. The French again crossed the Sambre, and posted themselves at Josselies, to cover the siege of Charleroic, but were driven from thence, with the loss of near six thousand men, twenty-two pieces of cannon, thirty-five ammunition waggons, horses, baggage, &c. This renewed defeat impeded not the zealous ardor of the Republican army; Jourdan stormed the Austrian camp at Betignies, and obliged Charleroi to surrender. The Prince of Cobourg, the Hereditary Prince of Orange, and General Beaulieu, being unacquainted with this event, marched with the combined army, in five columns, with the idea of relieving that place; having attacked the French entrenchments in the direction of Lambrisart, Espinies, and Gosselies, the Prince obliged a few detached bodies to retreat: General Jordan made every disposition to give battle to the allied armies; an action ensued, which continued from dawn of day until near sunset, when victory was declared in favor of the French; the allied troops retreated, first to Marbois, and then to Nivelles, with an intent to cover Namur. Such was the issue of the battle of Fleurus, which occasioned the highest panegyrics to be passed upon Jourdan, who was, by the convention, compared with the great Luxembourg. The loss of the combined forces in this hard contested and sanguinary engagement was very great; the Austrians lost a vast number of men, but the official documents published by the Austrian General were supposed to be inferior to the real number killed and wounded. The loss of the French was excessively great. In consequence of this great victory, the principal towns in Flanders were left open to the enemy. The Duke of York made an effort to form a junction with General Clairfayt, but finding that impracticable, he made a retreat from Tournay to Penaix; General Walmoden having abandoned Bruges, all communication with Ostend was cut off. The battle of Fleurus was fought on June 26. While Jourdan had thus driven back the Prince of Cobourg, and obliged him to fall upon Brussels, General Pichegru was engaged in numerous skirmishes with Clairfayt and the

Duke of York, greatly to the advantage of the former. Bruges, Ghent, and Ostend, opened their gates to the conquering army of the Republicans, and the fate of Flanders was decided.

We have already adverted to the disposition which the Corsicans had to throw aside their connexion with the Republic; it was deemed expedient by the English government to attempt the reduction of that island. The fleet in the Mediterranean was employed for that purpose. Admiral Lord Hood, after the capture of San Fiorenzo, attacked the town and forts of Bastia, which were taken with a loss comparatively insignificant. A regular assembly of the states was convened, when, by the predominant interest of the veteran General Paoli, it was unanimously agreed, that the sovereignty of the island should be conceded to the King of Great Britain. Sir Gilbert Eliot, afterward Lord Minto, was delegated by his Majesty to the high office of Viceroy of Corsica. A strong republican party yet remained in the town of Calvi, which was a strong fortified place; after a protracted resistance, it was at last compelled to submit to the British arms. Various circumstances tended to render Corsica untenable, and after a few months possession, it was evacuated by the English, and once more was united to France.

The oceans of blood which had been shed by order of the national convention, had already filled Europe, and the world, with horror; there was yet something wanting to fill up the "measure of iniquity of this assembly of the wicked;" this was at length done, and one of the most ferocious decrees ever known, was made, declaring, "that no English or Hanoverians should be made prisoners," and that "No one of the slaves of George ought to return to the traitorous territory of England." The mind recoils with horror at the recollection of this atrocious and outrageous violation of the laws of nature and nations. Robespierre, with that diabolical policy which guided all his actions, was at this time unwearied in his endeavors to rid himself of all those in the convention who might be the means of thwarting the progress of his ambition; on March 25, Hebert, Ronso, Momoro, Vincent, Du Croquet, Rocq (a Dutchman), Colonel Leumur, Bourgeois, Mazuel, La Boureau, Ancard, Anacharsis,

Cloots, † (the orator of the human race,) Proby, Desfeux, Le Clerc, Pereira, Florent Armand, Descombes, and Dubuisson, convicted of being the authors and accomplices of a conspiracy which existed against the liberty and safety of the people, and against the exercise of the lawful authority, tending to trouble the state by a civil war, by arming the citizens against each other; were executed in the *Place de la Revolution*, soon after the execution of Madame Du Barré.

Vanden Yver, the famous banker, was executed, with his two sons; they were found guilty of endeavoring to ruin the credit of France, having advanced large sums of money to Madame Du Barré, who sent them to Great Britain to be placed in the British funds; he was also charged with having lent 200,000 livres to the Bishop of Rochefoucault, and the same sum to M. Roham Chabot; as also of having been at the Louvre, with the knights of the poignard, to whose corps they belonged. Claviere,‡ the ex-minister of finance, would have suffered the stroke of the guillotine, but precluded it by stabbing himself in prison. Emmery, the *ci-devant* mayor of Dunkirk, was executed at this time.

CHAP. XI.

Seditious Societies in Great Britain. Proceedings thereon. Grand Naval Victory of Lord Howe. Surrender of Brussels to the French. Invasion of Holland.

NOTWITHSTANDING the war which subsisted between England and France, there was a powerful party in Great Britain, who not merely disapproved of the war,

† This wretched democratic maniac, was pre-eminently notorious for his impiety. A gentleman informed the author, that he once dined in company with him, and Thomas Paine, at a *Table d'hote*, in Paris, when the conversation, especially of Cloots, was, he declared, so impious and obscene, as obliged him to quit the place.

‡ CLAVIERE was an ingenious man, and an elegant scholar; and was well informed in many branches of ancient and modern learning. He was possessed of an excellent library.

but were avowedly the friends of the French Republicans. In England a society was formed, denominated, "The Corresponding Society;" the design and intention of which was to propagate and support those principles which were disseminated in Thomas Paine's "Rights of Man;" this society, agreeable to its name, had associates and corresponding members throughout England, especially at the manufacturing towns, such as Birmingham, Manchester, and Sheffield; it deputed delegates, who were honored with the appellation of "Citizen;" to disseminate more generally the principles espoused by this society, public lectures were given by John Thelwall, and others, in which the doctrines of Liberty and Equality were developed in a popular manner; "The Rights of Man," and publications of a similar nature, were in many cases distributed gratis, and in others sold at so low a price, as to come within the purchase of the lowest classes of the poor. Thelwall delivered lectures to a very crowded auditory, in a room opposite Beaufort-Buildings, in the Strand; he was the most active member of the Corresponding Society, and was elected a delegate on the night of his admission. Public meetings were not only held at taverns, &c. but in Copenhagen-fields, near Islington, and at Chalk-farm; at these places tribunes were erected, and speeches of an inflammatory nature were very freely delivered. A similar society was formed in Scotland, which went still greater lengths, so as even to form a sort of convention.

To counteract the pernicious effects produced by this society, an association was entered into by a number of gentlemen,† at the head of which was John Reeves, Esq. formerly Chief Justice of Newfoundland, which was designated, "The Association for the Protection of Liberty and Property, against Republicans, and Levellers." This society published and distributed a number of tracts, which were designed as an antidote to the poison diffused in democratic publications. Judge Ashurst, in a charge to the grand jury for the county of Middlesex,

† Mr. SEWEL, bookseller, in Cornhill, the founder of the Society for the improvement of Naval Architecture, was one of the first and most active members of the Crown and Anchor Association.

particularly animadverted on the propagation of the new principles. In this charge (which was delivered on November 19, 1792, in consequence of his Majesty's proclamation respecting seditious publications,) were the following appropriate observations:

"There have been publications in which the author disclaims all ideas of subordination, as contrary to the natural rights and equality of mankind, and recommends the example of a neighbouring nation as a model for our imitation.

"Alas! Humanity is called upon to pity the deplorable situation of that country; but it is a very ill-chosen example to hold forth to a nation in the most flourishing state of happiness; and it is a pretty extraordinary request, that we would (with our eyes open) plunge ourselves into the same abyss of misery.

"One might naturally have expected, that doctrines so monstrous and nonsensical, would have been treated with the contempt they deserved, and would have sunk into oblivion.

"But when one finds that tenets so wild and extravagant are taken up by formed societies of men, who meet for the express purpose of disseminating such doctrines, that they should hold regular correspondence with other similar societies at home (as well as in a neighbouring nation), it is time for every sober-minded man, and every well-wisher to the safety and prosperity of the country (as much as in him lies), to endeavor to crush such unconstitutional and pernicious doctrines."

The following was the royal proclamation issued in consequence of these seditious publications and meetings:

"GEORGE R.

"Whereas divers wicked and seditious writings have been printed, published, and industriously dispersed, tending to excite tumult and disorder, by endeavoring to raise groundless jealousies and discontents in the minds of our faithful and loving subjects, respecting the laws and happy constitution of government, civil and religious, established in this kingdom; and endeavoring to vilify and bring into contempt the wise and wholesome

provisions made at the time of the glorious revolution, and since strengthened and confirmed by subsequent laws, for the preservation and security of the rights and liberties of our faithful and loving subjects; and whereas divers writings have also been printed, published, and industriously dispersed, recommending the said wicked and seditious publications to the attention of all our faithful and loving subjects: and whereas we have also reason to believe that correspondences have been entered into with sundry persons in foreign parts, with a view to forward the criminal and wicked persons above mentioned: and whereas the wealth, happiness, and prosperity of this kingdom do, under Divine Providence, chiefly depend upon a due submission to the laws, a just confidence in the integrity and wisdom of Parliament, and a continuance of that zealous attachment to the government and constitution of the kingdom, which has ever prevailed in the minds of the people thereof: and whereas there is nothing which we so earnestly desire, as to secure the public peace and prosperity, and to preserve to all our loving subjects the full enjoyment of their rights and liberties, both religious and civil: We therefore being resolved, as far as in us lies, to repress the wicked and sedious practices aforesaid, and to deter all persons from following so pernicious an example, have thought fit, by the advice of our Privy Council, to issue this our Royal Proclamation, solemnly warning all our loving subjects, as they tender their own happiness, and that of their posterity, to guard against all such attempts, which aim at the subversion of all regular government within this kingdom, and which are inconsistent with the peace and order of society; and earnestly exhorting them at all times, and to the utmost of their power, to avoid and discourage all proceedings tending to produce riots and tumults: and we do strictly charge and command all our magistrates in and throughout our kingdom of Great Britain, that they do make diligent inquiry, in order to discover the authors, and transmit to one of our principal Secretaries of State, due and full information of such persons as shall be found offending as aforesaid, or, in any degree, aiding or abetting therein: it being our determination, for the preservation of the peace and happiness of our faithful and loving sub-

jects, to carry the laws vigorously into execution against such offenders as aforesaid.

"Given at our court at the Queen's House, the 21st day of May, 1792, in the thirty-second year of our reign.

"God save the King."

Several prosecutions were commenced in consequence of this proclamation, Messrs. Ridgeway and Symonds, two eminent booksellers, were tried in the court of King's-bench, on May 8, 1793, and sentenced to four years imprisonment in Newgate, for publishing the works of Thomas Paine, and a calumnious work entitled, "The Jockey Club," written by Mr. Pigot. John Frost, an attorney, was tried, and sentenced to six months imprisonment in the same prison, for seditious words; as was also William Powis, for the same offence.

Mr. Winterbottom, a dissenting minister, was tried at the assizes for the county of Devon, for having preached two seditious sermons, at a meeting-house in Plymouth, on the 5th and 18th of November, 1792. The witnesses for the prosecution stated, that the preacher asserted, That the revolution in France would open the eyes of the people of Great Britain; that his Majesty had no more right to the crown, than the Stuarts had; that the French revolution would be the means of spreading the gospel, and of propagating the true religion among twenty-five millions of men. Messrs. Gibbs and Const, made very able speeches in behalf of the defendant; they commented on the feeble testimony of one of the witnesses, who being asked, Who he meant by the Stuarts? Replied, "Some officers under the crown." They contended that the second sermon, was merely designed to explain that preached on November 5; and that it was a running commentary on the 13th chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, in which the apostle inculcates submission and obedience to governors and magistrates: the minister who had employed the defendant as his assistant, declared upon his oath, that if he had believed Mr. Winterbottom capable of preaching such doctrines, he would immediately have removed him from the ministry, and abhorred him as a man. Mr. Winterbottom received judgment (having been found guilty by the jury,) in the court of King's-bench, and was sentenced to be imprisoned

four years, and to pay a fine of two hundred pounds. Daniel Holt, a printer, at Newark, was tried and found guilty of publishing "An Address to the Addressers;" and re-publishing the Resolutions of an Association of 1783, for a parliamentary reform. And William Hodgson was sentenced to two years imprisonment, for giving "The French Republic" as a toast, at the London Coffee-house, Ludgate-hill; and exclaiming, "That the King was a German hog-butcher, and a dealer in human flesh!"

The government of Scotland was no less vigilant in endeavoring to put a stop to seditious practices. Robert Watt, who had been employed by government, was convicted of high-treason, and executed accordingly. Tho. Muir, a gentleman of considerable fortune, was tried in August, 1793, for endeavoring to excite sedition. It appeared on the trial, that Mr. Muir had distributed, and circulated, the works of Paine; also a publication, entitled, "A Declaration of Rights, and an Address to the People, approved of by a Number of Friends of Reform, in Paisley;" also, "A Dialogue between the Governors and the Governed:" likewise a paper, called, "The Patriot:" he was also charged with uttering many seditious speeches and harangues: he was found guilty and sentenced to fourteen years transportation. Mr. Muir, when proceedings had first been commenced against him, absconded, but was apprehended at Port Patrick, and committed to the Tolbooth, at Stanmaer, in the county of Wigtoun, from whence he was sent prisoner to Edinburgh. The Rev. Thomas Fysche Palmer, unitarian minister at Dundee, was also convicted on September 13, 1793, of publishing a seditious hand-bill, and sentenced to seven years transportation.

The friends of the French Republic were particularly active also in Ireland, where they were headed by Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Archibald Hamilton Rowen, Esq. Napper Tandy, the Rev. Mr. Jackson, and others.

In the spring of 1794, the proceedings of the Corresponding Society attracted the particular notice of government, and warrants were issued against Thomas Hardy, a shoe-maker, in Piccadilly, the secretary; John Horne Tooke, Esq. the *ci-devant* clergyman at Brentford, and the quondam friend of Mr. Wilkes; Thelwall, the lecturer; the Rev. Jeremiah Joyce, a dissenting minister,

who was domesticated in the house of Earl Stanhope, Stewart Kid, Esq. a barrister, and Messrs. Bonney, Baxter, Richter, and Martin; they were all apprehended, and after several examinations, were committed prisoners to the Tower on the charge of high-treason. Thomas Holcroft, against whom a warrant was also issued, voluntarily surrendered himself. At the same time, Broomhead, Moody, Hill, Widdesons, Camage, Edwards, and Williams, were apprehended at Sheffield; but, after some months imprisonment, were liberated, upon entering into recognizances to give evidence against Henry Redhead Yorke, who was committed for trial at the assizes for the county of York.

The trial of the prisoners in the Tower, commenced at the Old Bailey on October 28, with that of Hardy; Sir John Scott,† the attorney-general, in a speech of nine hours, entered into a full and minute detail of the subject: his opening was manly, serious, unimpassioned, and humane; it contained the sentiments of a presumed lover of *true* liberty. The trial continued till Wednesday Nov. 5, when Lord Chief Justice Eyre summed up the evidence adduced in a most judicious and expressive manner, and the jury returned a verdict of Not Guilty. Mr. Erskine,‡ and Vicary Gibbs, Esq.§ were counsel for Mr. Hardy. The trial of John Horne Tooke, Esq. took place on November 17, and lasted five days; in the course of this trial the Duke of Richmond and Mr. Pitt, were examined: Chief Justice Eyre recapitulated the evidence, and summed it up with great candor and perspicuity: the jury withdrew for twelve minutes, and returned a verdict of Not Guilty. The trial of Thelwall next occupied the attention of the court; he also received a verdict of acquittal. The rest of the prisoners were discharged for want of evidence.

In the House of Commons, a few days after, Mr. Windham, the secretary at war, alluding to the acquittal of these state prisoners, bestowed upon them the appellation of "acquitted felons."

While the allies had been unfortunate on the conti-

† NOW LORD ELDON, Lord High Chancellor.
‡ LORD ERSKINE, late Lord Chancellor.
§ Now Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

nent, and England had to contend with intestine foes, the naval glories of Great Britain were yet destined to acquire a glory and renown unfading and everlasting. The French fleet having sailed from Brest, commanded by Admiral Villaret Joyeuse; the Channel fleet under the command of Lord Howe, sailed directly in quest of the enemy. On May 28, the rival fleets descried each other, on which Lord Howe pursued his course, while the French admiral appeared to be carrying his ships in order of battle; but upon an indication that the French seemed to avoid a close fight, the British commander displayed the signal for a general chase, and Rear-admiral Pasley was detached to make an attack upon the rear: he came up with, and attacked the Révolutionnaire of 110 guns, but the admiral's top-mast being disabled, Lord Hugh Seymour Conway, in the Leviathan, gallantly advanced, and received the fire of the French ship: on the morning of the 29th of May, Admiral Joyeuse edged down in a line a-head, on the British fleet, with a design to engage the van; Lord Howe taking advantage of so favorable an opportunity, renewed the signal for passing the enemy's line, and obtained the weather gage, while the French were repelled by the Barfleur, and two other three-deckers, in an attempt to cut off the Queen and Royal George: the second day's action was indecisive, and the French fleet during this time had been reinforced with three sail of the line and five frigates, commanded by Rear-admiral Neilly. On June 1, the two fleets were drawn up in the following order of battle.

ENGLISH LINE OF BATTLE, June 1, 1794.

STARBOARD DIVISION.

VAN S.

First Division.

	Names of Ships.	Guns.	Commanders.
1	Cæsar (the leading ship of the van division)	80	Capt. A. J. Molloy.
2	Bellerophon - -	74	** R. Ad. Pasley. * W. Hope.
3	Leviathan - -	74	* Lord H. Seymour.
4	Russel - -	74	* J. W. Payne.
5	Marlborough - -	74	Hon. G. Berkley.

Second Division.

	Ships.	Guns.	Commanders.
6	Royal Sovereign -	104	{** V. Ad. Graves. *H. Nichols.
7	Defence - -	74	*J. Gambier.
8	Impregnable - -	98	{R. Ad. Caldwell. G. B. Westcott.
9	Tremendous - -	74	J. Pigott.

The Audacious, after the first day's action, had been obliged to return to port.

CENTRE S.

First Division.

10	Invincible - -	74	*Hon. T. Pakenham.
11	Barfleur - -	98	{**R. Ad. Bowyer. C. Collingwood.
12	Culloden - -	74	Is. Scomberg.
13	Gibraltar - -	80	T. Mackenzie.
14	Queen Charlotte -	100	{**Ad. Earl Howe. **Sir R. Curtis. **Sir A. Douglas.

LARBOARD DIVISION.

Second Division.

15	Brunswick - -	74	J. Harvey.
16	Valiant - -	74	*T. Pringle.
17	Orion - -	74	*J. F. Duckworth.
18	Queen - -	90	{**R. Ad. Gardner. J. Hutt.

REAR S.

First Division.

19	Ramilies - -	74	*H. Harvey.
20	Alfred - -	74	J. Bazeley.
21	Royal George - -	100	{** V. Ad. Sir A. Hood *W. Domett.
22	Montagu - -	74	J. Montagu.

Second Division.

23	Majestic - -	74	C. Cotton.
24	Glory - -	98	J. Elphinstone.
25	Thunderer - -	74	A. Bertie.

25 ships of the line. 2032 guns.

The following frigates, sloops, cutters, &c. also attended the British Fleet:

1	Niger,	32 guns,	Repeating frigate to the Van S. Hon. A. K. Legge.
2	Pegasus,	28	Repeating frigate to the Centre S. Captain R. Barlowe.
3	Aquilon,	32	Repeating frigate to the Rear S. H. R. Stopford.
4	Phæton,	38	Capt. W. Bentick.
5	Latona,	38	—— E. Thornborough.
6	Southampton,	32	—— Hon. R. Forbes.
7	Venus,	32	—— W. Brown.
8	Charon,	44 (hosp. ship)	—— G. Countess.
9	Comet	14 (fire-ship)	—— W. Bradley.
10	Incendiary,	14 (fire-ship)	—— J. Cooke.
11	King's-fisher,	18 (sloop)	—— M Gosselin.
12	Ranger,	14 (cutter)	Lieut. C. Cotgrave.
13	Rattler,	14 (cutter)	—— J. Wynne.

[The flag officers marked thus ** in the aforesaid fleet, were afterwards presented with a gold medal and chain; and the captains marked thus * were presented with a gold medal.]

FRENCH LINE OF BATTLE, June 1, 1794.

	Ships.	Guns.	Commanders.
1	La Convention	- 74	
2	Le Gasparin	- 74	
3	* Le Amérique	- 74	
4	Le Terrible	- 110	Rear Admiral Bouvet.
5	*L'Impétueux	- 74	
6	L'Eole	- 74	
7	Le Mucius	- 74	
8	Le Tourville	- 74	
9	Le Trajan	- 74	
10	Le Trente un Mai	- 74	
	Le Tyrannicide	- 74	(Out of the line.)
11	L'Audacieux	- 74	
12*	Le Juste	- 80	
13	La Montague	- 120	Jean Bon St. André, (Nat. Com.) Vice Ad. Villaret-Joyeuse. Capt. Basile.

Ships.	Guns.	Commanders.
14 Le Jacobin	- 80	
15*Achille	- 74	
16 Le Patriote	- 74	
17†Le Vengeur	- 74	
18*Le Northumberland	74	
19 Le Gemappe	- 80	
20 L'Entreprenant	- 74	(Broad pendant.)
21 Neptune	- 74	
22 Le Républicain	- 118	Rear Admiral Neilly.
23*Le Sanspareil	- 80	
24 Scipion	- 80	
25 Le Mont-blanc	- 74	
26 Le Pelletier	- 74	(Broad pendant.)
26 ships.	2144 guns.	

FRIGATES.

La Proserpine.	La Nayade.	La Bellone.
La Surprise.	La Galathée.	La Précieuse.
L'Insurgente.	La Gentile.	La Tamise.
La Résolue.	La Felicité.	La Semillante.

CORVETTES.

Le Maireguiton.	Le Jean Bart.	Le Papillon
Le Furet.	L'Atalante.	Le Courier.
La Mutine.	La Mouche.	

[The six ships marked by an asterisk were captured upon this occasion, and the ship designated thus † sunk.]

At nine o'clock, A. M. orders were given for steering the Royal Charlotte, bearing the signal for close action, along side the French admiral's ship: the battle was one continued scene of hard close fighting, and of dreadful slaughter. About fifty minutes after the action had commenced, the French admiral resolved to discontinue the contest, as several of his ships were dismasted, and one of 74 guns about to sink; he therefore crouded all the canvas he could make, and got away, under a temporary sail. The English fleet having suffered much in the rigging, were prevented pursuing; but two 80, and five 74 guns ships, remained in their possession. The loss of the conquerors was no greater than might have been expected from so tremendous an engagement;

Captain Montagu was killed; and Vice-admiral Greaves, Rear-admirals Bowyer and Pasley; and Captains the Hon. G. Berkley, Harvey and Hutt,† were wounded.

Comparative estimate of killed and wounded:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Total.
On board the six French ships taken,	690	580	1270
On board six of the English ships that suffered most, -	125	335	460
Surplus killed and wounded on the part of the French, -	565	245	810

List of French ships captured, June 1, 1794.

Le Juste,	80 guns,	Le Northumberland,	74 guns,
Le Sanspareil,	80	L'Impetueux,	74
L'Amerique,	74	Le Vengeur,	74
L'Achille,	74	sunk between five and six o'clock at night.	

The French fought with the most determined resolution, and their admiral displayed a masterly knowledge of naval tactics. Lord Howe's conduct was beyond all praise; it was the theme of universal admiration. It was particularly requested by his lordship before the action begun, that the sailors belonging to the different ships should be very sparing in drinking spiritous liquors; and that they should patiently wait until after the engagement, when all those who escaped the perils of the fight, should be rewarded in that, or any other way, they might think proper to mention. The noble admiral addressed the men in his own ship, saying, "Wait, my lads, until the glorious business is over, and then we may all get drunk together." His lordship,‡ in consequence of his inimitable valour and judg-

† Captains HARVEY and HUTT died soon after of their wounds.

‡ RICHARD LORD VISCOUNT HOWE, was born 1722. He entered at an early age into the naval service. In 1746, he was made Post Captain in the Triton man of war; and in June, 1752, was appointed to the command of the Dolphin. In 1755, Captain Howe commanded the Dunkirk, in Admiral Boscawen's fleet of observation; and, in conjunction with the Defiance, he fell in with the Alcide and Lys, two French men of war, which had been separated from a squadron off Newfoundland, when they refusing to pay the usual compliment to the British flag, Captain Howe, and Captain Andrews, brought them to close action, and they were both captured. He was afterward appointed to the Magnanime, of 74 guns, in the fleet under Admiral Hawke. In the expedition against Rochfort, Captain Howe led the van, and in bearing

ment, as displayed in this splendid victory, so memorable in the naval annals of Great Britain, had the highest

down on Aix, a small island leading up to Rochfort, the fort fired on the commander, but he kept on his course without firing a single gun. until he came abreast the battery, when, dropping his anchor, he poured such a torrent from his whole broadside, as drove every man from the guns in the fort, and soon after the French colours were struck. In 1758, Captain Howe was selected to command an expedition to the coast of France; he sailed from Portsmouth in the quality of Commodore, with one line of battle ship, three fifties, seven frigates, six sloops, with fire-ships, bombs, tenders, cutters, and transports; the troops were commanded by the Duke of Marlborough; the Commodore steered for the bay of St. Maloes, where he set fire to about an hundred sail of ships, and to several magazines of naval stores: the fleet then proceeded to Cherbourg, and made dispositions for landing the troops, but the weather proving tempestuous, it returned to St. Helen's, and in two days returned again. The fortifications of Cherbourg had been constructed by the great Vauban. A resolution was formed to destroy all the forts, as well as the bason, piers, and harbour; a great many pieces of cannon were taken, with flags, standards; and trophies. After returning to Spithead, Commodore Howe again sailed for St. Maloes, and from thence to St. Cas, where General Bligh, who commanded the land forces, was unsuccessful. In 1759, he was appointed to the command of the Magnanime, in the fleet under Admiral Hawke, and he greatly contributed to the conquest of Quiberon Bay. In 1760, his lordship commanded an expedition against a fort on the island of Dumet, which was taken; and in the same year was appointed one of the Lords of the Bedchamber to the Duke of York; and also appointed Colonel of Marines. In 1763, he was appointed one of the Lords of the Admiralty; and in 1765, Treasurer of the Navy, and Rear-admiral of the Blue; in 1776, he was likewise appointed Rear-admiral of the White, and Lieutenant-general of the Marines. He was also chosen Representative in Parliament for Dartmouth. When the dispute broke out with America, Lord Howe was nominated to command the fleet designed to operate against the enemy. He had a thousand difficulties to combat in that capacity; the manner in which he was left to encounter the French fleet, much superior to that which he commanded, and the manner in which he conducted himself for the deliverance of his armament, and the honor of his flag, reflected great lustre upon his character. Count D'Estaing, the French Admiral, was appalled at the arrangement of his antagonist, he could make no impression on his line, and he yielded to him a glory truly pre-eminent. Commodore Johnstone, in the House of Commons, made some frivolous remarks censuring the conduct of his lordship, but they made no impression, either on his auditors, or the public at large. His lordship, upon being informed of this circumstance, exclaimed, "Admiral Lord Howe will not condescend to receive instructions from Captain Johnstone." Lord Howe, however, was recalled. On the appointment of the Shelburne administration, which recognised the independence of America, Lord Howe was created an English Peer, by the style and title of Viscount Howe, of Langar, in the county of Nottingham. He was made Admiral of the Blue, and appointed to the command of the grand fleet. His lordship married Mary, daughter of Major Hartrop, of Welby, in Leicestershire. His lordship's ever memorable victory on the glorious first of June, will convey his name down to the latest posterity with unfading honors. Admiral Lord Viscount Howe died in the year 1799.

honor conferred upon him, that of receiving a visit from his Majesty on board the Queen Charlotte, who presented him with a diamond hilted sword, with a medal, and a gold chain. Admirals Bowyer and Pasley, had an annuity of 1000l. per ann. settled upon them, and were created baronets. When intelligence was received in London of this great victory, there were general illuminations for three nights successively.

The sanguinary decree of the French convention, ordering that no quarter should be given to English or Hanoverian soldiers, was answered by the Duke of York, in the following admirable general orders:

GENERAL ORDERS, June 7.

"His Royal Highness the Duke of York thinks it incumbent on him to announce to the British and Hanoverian troops under his command, that the Convention of France, pursuing that gradation of crimes and horrors which has distinguished the period of its government, as the most calamitous of any that has yet occurred in the history of the world, has just passed a decree, that their soldiers shall give no quarter to the British or Hanoverian troops. His Royal Highness anticipates the indignation and horror which has naturally arisen in the minds of the brave troops, whom he addresses, upon receiving this information. His Royal Highness desires, however, to remind them, that mercy to the vanquished is the brightest gem in a soldier's character; and exhorts them not to suffer their resentment to lead them to any precipitate act of cruelty on their part, which may sully the reputation they have acquired in the world. His Royal Highness believes that it would be difficult for brave men to conceive that any set of men who are themselves exempt, from sharing in the dangers of war, should be so base and cowardly as to seek to aggravate the calamities of it, upon the unfortunate people who are subject to their orders.

"It was, indeed, reserved for the present times to produce to the world the proof of the possibility of the existence of such atrocity and infamy. The pretence of issuing this decree, even if founded in truth, would justify it only to minds similar to those of the members of the National Convention. It is, in fact, too absurd to be noticed, and still less to be refuted. The French must

themselves see through the flimsy artifice of an intended assassination, by which Robespierre has succeeded in procuring the military guard which has at once established him the successor of the unfortunate Louis, by whatever name he may choose to dignify his future reign. In all the wars which from the earliest times have existed between the English and the French nations, they have been accustomed to consider each other in the light of generous, as well as brave enemies, while the Hanoverians for a century, the allies of the former, have shared in this reciprocal esteem. Humanity and kindness have at all times taken place, the instant that opposition ceased; and the same cloak has been frequently seen covering those who are wounded, and enemies, whilst indiscriminately conveying to the hospitals of the conquerors.

"The British and Hanoverian armies will not believe that the French nation, even under their present infatuation, can so far forget their characters as soldiers, as to pay any attention to a decree, as injurious to themselves, as it is disgraceful to the persons who passed it: in this confidence, his Royal Highness trusts that the soldiers of both nations will confine their sentiments of resentment and abhorrence to the national convention alone; persuaded that they will be joined in them by every Frenchman who possesses one spark of honor, or one principle of a soldier: and his Royal Highness is confident, that it will only be on finding, contrary to every expectation, that the French army has relinquished every title to the fair character of soldiers and of men, by submitting to and obeying so atrocious an order, that the brave troops under his command will think themselves justified, and indeed under the necessity of adopting a species of warfare, for which they will then stand acquitted to their own conscience, to their country, and the world: in such an event, the French army alone will be answerable for the tenfold vengeance which will fall upon themselves, their wives, and their children, and their unfortunate country, already groaning under every calamity, which the accumulated crimes of unprincipled ambition and avarice can heap upon their devoted victims.

"His Royal Highness desires these orders may be

read and explained to the men at their successive roll-callings."

The Prince of Saxe Cobourg, in spite of the great loss he had sustained at the battle of Fleurus, made a bold resistance to the enemy. Having assembled his scattered forces at Halle, he made an advance, but was again attacked by the French, and defeated near Mons; he retreated to Soignes, from whence he was driven by the Republicans. The gates of Brussels were now opened to the French, and they were received by the inhabitants with the greatest testimonies of joy. The possession of this important place, opened a path for the invasion of Holland; Landrecies, Quenay, and Valenceines, were surrendered to General Scherer; Jourdan proceeded in pursuit of General Clairfayt, while Pichegru directed his march to Holland. The Austrian General was attacked by the French, in a strong position which he had taken up on the banks of the Roer; he was, at length, driven from thence by them, with the loss of 10,000 men. The Republicans now obtained possession of Hervé, Malmedy, and Spa. Immediately after the defeat of Clairfayt, Pichegru marched into Holland; the French faction pervaded most of the towns under the government of the Stadtholder, in many instances no exercise of military force was requisite to make the garrison and inhabitants surrender; instead of being viewed as enemies, they were too frequently hailed as friends and brothers. Pichegru was fully acquainted with the favorable disposition of the Dutch towards him, and he had not much to fear of success; the event proved that his most sanguine expectations were fully realized: the British force was too feeble for resistance, and it was easily routed at Nimeguen, and the troops obliged to cross the Waal, with considerable loss.

The passage of the Rhine was the only barrier to oppose the incursion of the Republican army, this was guarded by numerous troops, stationed at proper distances, so as to unite immediately in case of an attack; but all these admirable arrangements were rendered of no avail, by a circumstance resulting from the inclemency of the season; most unfortunately for the Stadtholder, a severe frost had occasioned the Rhine to be so frozen, as to enable the French forces to march across it;

all opposition was in vain; the enemy, flushed with such an extraordinary operation in their favor, rushed forward with furious impetuosity, cutting to pieces those few detachments which endeavored to arrest their progress. The Duke of York, after having engaged the enemy in the neighbourhood of Pufflech, where he sustained a defeat, but displayed a consummate degree of ability, was, owing to existing circumstances, obliged to return to England, leaving the command of the troops to General Walmoden. Subsequent to this Major-general Dundas obtained possession of Sayl, and drove a body of the French across the ice, with some loss; the allies were, notwithstanding this temporary advantage, obliged to retreat behind the Leck; occasionally they attacked the enemy, and sometimes with great success; Lord Cathcart, an officer of distinguished merit, made a gallant attack on the French posts at Gelder Malsel. The enemy having crossed the Waal in five columns, attacked the allies, forced the Imperialists to abandon Muesden, and the Hanoverians to retreat across the Lingen; the British forces were obliged to withdraw to Voorhuitsen. The French were now masters of Utrecht, which was entered by General Salm, and General Vandamme took possession of Arnhiem. Holland could now only be preserved by opening the sluices, and inundating the country; but the subjects of the Stadtholder were too much infected with French democratic principles, to suffer such an expedient to be resorted to; Amsterdam was the very focus of revolutionary principles, and the illustrious Prince of Orange, whose ancestors had rescued the United Provinces from popery and slavery, was forced by his degenerate subjects, to fly from his Stadtholderian dominions, and seek an asylum in Great Britain. An assembly of citizens were convened at the Hague, when Peter Paulus, a violent democrat of Amsterdam, was chosen president; at this meeting it was decreed, that the Stadtholdership should be abolished, and the rights of shooting, hunting, and fishing, those *native* rights of man, be restored in their utmost plenitude. Thus, in a short period of time, was that venerable Republic annihilated, which for more than two hundred years had acquired a solid fame and glory among the nations of the earth; a Republic which owed its pre-eminent celebrity to the Princes of the house of

Nassau; it now became the prey of a self-created power, whose government was founded on the basis of pillage and fraud; whose *fraternal hug* was destruction, and whose tender mercies were *cruelty*.

CHAP. XII.

Events in Poland. Operations in the West Indies. Campaign in Sardinia. Proceedings of the National Convention. Fall of Robespierre.

NOTWITHSTANDING the subsidy which had been voted to Frederick William of Prussia, a great degree of coolness prevailed between that monarch and the allies. A note was delivered to the Emperor Francis from his Prussian Majesty, requiring the sum of nine millions of florins, of the Germanic empire. An additional note was also delivered by the Prussian minister, demanding indemnification of the emperor for the expences and subsidies of the war; Frederick also intimated that he should employ his troops *solely* for the defence of Germany. This difference was, however, settled by the British cabinet, who advanced a loan to the emperor, at the same time, stipulating that he should remain firm to his engagements.

The affairs of Poland were this year of a most important nature; the inhabitants of that country were in little better state than that of slavery to the empire of Russia. At the commencement of the year, Baron D'Ingelstrochm, the Russian ambassador at Warsaw, demanded the enregistering of every document relating to the constitution of 1791; an order was also given in imperative terms, for the reduction of the military force of Poland to sixteen thousand men; this demand was resisted, and Brigadier Anthony Madalinski appeared at the head of a large body of insurgents; Kosciusko, a man greatly distinguished for his spirit of valorous independence, was also at the head of an army which had captured Cracow. In April he began his march to Warsaw; on the road he

defeated a detachment of Russians, which occasioned the inhabitants of Warsaw to drive out the Russian garrison, when Kosciusko took possession of the capital. The Prussians, under General Elsner, attacked Cracow, which they re-captured: and the king himself, with a large army, proceeded to besiege Warsaw, now in the hands of the insurgents, but owing to the skill and bravery of Kosciusko, the Prussian army was obliged to abandon the attempt. Russia and Prussia conjointly, published a manifesto, in which the Poles were invited to return to their reason, the nobles to return to their dwellings, and the peasants to the labors of the field; in which case a free pardon was offered for all delinquents. Prince Repnin entered Poland with an army from Lithuania, and obtained possession of Chelm, and Lubnin.

The Russian minister at the Sublime Porte, M. De Kulizbey, made several propositions to the Ottoman power, one of which was, a positive declaration, that the Porte should not interfere in the actual affairs of Poland. The Reis Effendi gave an evasive answer to this proposition.

On September 8, the revolting Poles were defeated with great slaughter, near Brcese, and were obliged precipitately to retreat across the Bug; Suwarrow was the Russian commander, and his name alone struck terror. Kosciusko having been apprised that the Russians were about to form a junction with General Ferfen, made a sudden attack upon the latter; the Polish General in this affair displayed more courage than prudence: he experienced a total defeat, and was himself wounded, and taken prisoner. The conqueror proceeded to Warsaw, and transcendent glory would have alighted upon him, had he, in the midst of wrath, remembered mercy; but Suwarrow blasted all the laurels he had so nobly acquired, by the exercise of the most wanton cruelty and barbarity; his heart was steeled to humanity, and a carnage took place in the capital of Warsaw, in which all the inhabitants were indiscriminately involved, neither age nor sex were spared. General Warzecki, the governor of Warsaw, when Suwarrow offered to return him his sword, nobly said, "This sword is now become useless, I have no longer a country to defend." Kosciusko, with another chief of the insurgents, named Potocki, were sent under a strong escort to St. Petersburg. Po-

land was afterwards divided between Russia and Prussia.

An expedition against the French West India islands had been fitted out, and sailed the latter end of the year 1793; the troops, amounting to six thousand, were under the command of Sir Charles Grey, and the naval armament under that of Sir John Jervis. A landing was effected on the island of Martinico, and the fleet anchored in the harbour of Port Royal: when Colonel Symes, with a detachment, captured the town of St. Pierre, and Lieutenant-colonels Buckeridge, Coste, and Blundell, made an attack upon General Bellegarde, whom they took, with his camp, and all his artilley. On March 20, Captain Faulknor, of the Zebra, ran his ship close to Fort St. Louis, and leaping on shore, with his company, scaled the wall, and carried it by assault; the British flag was now hoisted on the ramparts, and the name of the fort was changed to that of Fort Edward, in compliment to his Britannic Majesty's fourth son, Prince Edward, now Duke of Kent. General Rochambeau, upon this event, immediately offered the surrender of Port Bourbon; articles of capitulation were entered into; when the British forces entered it in triumph, and the garrison was sent to France. The name of this fort was changed to that of Fort George.

The fleet now sailed for St. Lucia, with his Royal Highness Prince Edward on board, who had arrived from Canada; and a landing was made, and Lieutenant-colonel Coote gained possession of a fort, which his Royal Highness named Fort Charlotte. The island of St. Lucia was captured without the loss of a man; and on April 5, the small range of islands were taken called, "The Saints."

Part of the fleet was now at anchor at Point à Petre, in Guadaloupe; General Sir Charles Grey, landed with a body of infantry, seamen, and marines; the fort of *La Fleur d'Epee* was carried by the sword; Prince Edward in person leading on, in a most gallant manner, a body of grenadiers, and a hundred of the naval battalion, stormed the point on Morne Mascon; General Dundas, and Colonel Symes, were also dispatched on different branches of service; in consequence of which the English obtained possession of that part of the island called *Grand Terre*. *Fort d'Fleur d'Epeé* which had

been taken, was denominated Fort Prince of Wales. At length General Collet viewed it highly expedient to capitulate, and Guadaloupe, with all its dependencies, were given up to his Britannic Majesty.

At this time the French government had decreed, "That all the men of colour (blacks and creoles) in the colonies of the Republic, should be French citizens." When this decree was passed, an affecting incident occurred with respect to a female negro, who was present in the convention at the time: As soon as the decree was pronounced, she fell down in a swoon in one of the tribunals, and remained speechless for some time. The next day a deputation of men of colour, residing in Paris, appeared at the bar of the convention with an address: "This address," exclaimed the orator of the deputation, "has restored to liberty, and consequently to happiness, one million of the human race, who have hitherto groaned under the chains of slavery. You have made us forget the wrongs of two centuries. We mean not to return you thanks—Republicans acknowledge no ceremonies of that kind. We shall only declare that you have deserved well of the four quarters of the globe."

Victor Hugues was the commissioner appointed to promulgate this new law in the West Indies. A squadron was fitted out for the purpose of arresting the progress of the English arms in that quarter; it arrived at Gaudaloupe on June 3; Victor Hugues attacked that part of the island called *Grand Terre*, which he took by storm: information was sent to the English fleet of this unexpected event; upon which Sir John Jervis, who was then at St. Kitt's, proceeded to Guadaloupe, and blockaded the French squadron off Point à Pètre, while Sir Charles Grey proceeded to Basse Terre. On the 2d of July, Brigadier-general Symes, and Captain Robertson, were ordered to make an attack on the town; the latter stormed Point à Petre, but was overpowered by the enemy, and many officers were wounded. The insinuating conduct of Victor Hugues had gained him the attachment of the blacks and creoles. After the most spirited endeavors to keep possession of the island, it was found impracticable; and the British troops, under Brigadier-general Graham, capitulated on October 6, being allowed the honors of war. Thus, through the conduct of the French commissioner, and the operation of the decree

of the convention, was Guadaloupe wrested from Great Britain, after a display of singular enterprise in the naval and military commanders who were employed in its reduction.

The balance of power was now in favor of France throughout a great part of Europe: the dominions of the King of Sardinia were invaded, and Oneglia, a small port appertaining to that kingdom, was besieged and taken on April 6. A body of French troops penetrated into Piedmont, under General Dumas, who scoured upon different ports, and took nine hundred prisoners. General Dumvillion also obtained possession of the forts of Saorgio, Belvidere, Rocahiliere, and St. Martin; two thousand prisoners were captured, a great number of cannon, and an immense quantity of military stores. The Italian and Austrian army were obliged to retire under the walls of Alexandria.

In the month of May, Madame Elizabeth, the sister of Louis XVI. was arraigned before the revolutionary tribunal. This amiable princess was interrogated as to her name, and quality: when, on replying that she was sister to the king, the tribunal immediately condemned her to death, "as guilty of a conspiracy against the Republic," and she was executed accordingly. Prior to the execution of this august lady, a number of the most ferocious members of the Mountain party had been arrested and brought before the revolutionary tribunal, namely, Danton,† Fabre D'Eglantine, (who manufactured the new

† J. G. DANTON, was a native of Arcis-sur-Aube, and was born in 1759. In 1790, he moved in the national convention, that the king should be required to give up his ministers, who had lost the confidence of the country. In 1791, he was elected member for the department of Paris. After the deposition of the king, he was made minister of justice, at the time of the horrible massacres, on the 2d and 3d of September; his conduct at that time will cover his name with eternal infamy. He was afterwards chosen president of the Jacobin club, a situation he was well qualified to fill. He was one who voted for the death of the king. Robespierre was always jealous of Danton, and had long thirsted for his blood; St. Just having lodged an information against him, he was arrested: at his trial, when asked the usual questions, as to his name and residence, he replied, "My residence will soon be a nonentity; but my name will live for ever in the Pantheon of history." The president having accused him of boldness, he replied, "Individual boldness is doubtless reprehensible, but national boldness, of which I have given so many examples, is allowable, and even necessary, and I glory in possessing it." On his return to the Conciergerie, he exclaimed, "It is the anniversary of the day on which I cursed the institution

calendar,) Lacroix, Chabot,§ Philippeaux, Camille, Desmoullin (a poet), Delaunay, D'Angers, Herault Schelle, Abbé D'Espagnues, Cusman, the two Freys, Dunshiehen, Lullier, and General Westermann. Lullier was acquitted; the rest were sentenced to die. On April 5, they were conducted in carts from the prison of the Conciergerie, to the usual place of execution.

The fate of these men paved the way for the destruction of one of the greatest tyrants the annals of modern history records. Maximilian Robespierre was the acting member of the committee for public welfare, which was made the engine of his cruel despotism; the multitude of persons denounced through the medium of this body was daily increasing; the late executions of such distinguished members of the convention excited a just alarm; there was not an individual who could view himself in a state of security from the attack of this vulture of the human species. The discourses of Robespierre at the club of the Jacobins, excited great suspicion. The period of time had arrived when, according to the constitution of the committee of public welfare, the members were either to have their power renewed, or be replaced by others; this appeared a very favorable opportunity for the adversaries of the tyrant to impede the progress of his sanguinary designs. It was agreed to nominate four new ministers, but Barrere, who was the creature of Robespierre, took the convention by surprise; after narrating a series of victories, he said, "Citizens, previously to my reading to you the advices from the armies, at the commencement of the present sitting, I forgot to inform you, that the committee of public welfare had

of the revolutionary tribunal, for which I implore pardon of God and men! I leave every thing in dreadful confusion; there is not one among them that understands any thing of government; after all they are such brethren as Cain! Brissot would have had me guillotined, even as Robespierre has me guillotined!" He was the last who suffered; when tied to the plank, he cast up his eyes to the axe with apparent magnanimity. Danton was of a colossal stature, and athletic make; his features were strongly marked indicative of brutality, and his voice was like the roaring of a lion.†

§ CHABOT was originally a Capuchin Friar.

† Vide Adolphus's Biographical Memoirs of the French Revolution; Revolutionary Plutarch, &c.

charged me to demand the renewal of its powers, which are expired." Much dissatisfaction pervaded the breasts of the members of the assembly upon the renewal of the powers of that committee, composed of the same men who had sent thousands to the guillotine. A pamphlet at this time appeared, which, under the title of "The Life of Cromwell," pourtrayed the character of Maximilian. In the manifesto of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, in answer to the decree of the convention, for giving no quarter to the British and Hanoverian soldiers, his Highness had particularly alluded to the *kingly* authority of Robespierre; upon that occasion he went to the Jacobin club, with that paper in his hand, and addressing the members, exclaimed, "What means that distinction which the Duke of York confers upon me? I supposed myself a French citizen, and he makes me King of France and Navarre. I esteem too much the title of Citizen, not to spurn at any other that would assimilate me to the Duke of York. Can there be any thing more dear to a friend of liberty, than the love of his fellow-citizens? And would the French people descend from the highest summit of glory, to debase themselves to a throne? The Duke of York has asserted that I am surrounded with a military guard; you best know how far such is the fact."†

When the news arrived at Paris of the battle of Fleurus, the citizens of the sections regaled themselves, by a banquet in the open air, in the evening succeeding that on which the intelligence had arrived; Robespierre and his partisans were not in time to prevent this meeting, which was, however, broken up in the moment of conviviality, by the heaviest storm of rain that was ever seen to fall in France; the guests had not time to take their dishes and bottles off the table, the thunder and lightning were so tremendous.

Barrere made a report next day, in the name of the committee on the situation of Paris, in which it was obvious that the design was to prevent such meetings in future. The following was the speech of Barrere on this occasion:

"This public fraternization, so suddenly made the order of the day, is it not necessarily false? Does it not

† Perry's Historical Sketch, vol. ii. p. 521, &c.

implicate, when it is so general and indefinite, a species of suspicious commerce? Citizens, let us guard against this event; the same conduct was pursued in the legislative assembly when the 10th of August was preparing. How can the morals of the citizens be regenerated amidst the sottish confusion of citizens? This mixture of sexes, in the middle of banquets, in the darkness of night, and after repasts, in which the pleasures of the bottle have been indulged to such excess—these banquets force the patriots to disguise their sentiments of the aristocrats and *moderes*, and to sully their attachment to the Republic by hypocritical counter-revolutionary toasts. The civil authority is either despised or not recognised. A pure policy ought to dread this foul mixture of friends and enemies, and the revolution ought to proscribe moderantism. What moment have they chosen to precipitate, on a sudden, one class of citizens, into the arms of another class? *Precisely that on which a new crisis seems to be preparing*—precisely that in which our multiplied victories increase the venom and malignancy of the foreign party which is among us. Let us no longer be dazzled by these pretended fraternal banquets; *they have always been the preludes of all conspiracies.* Think you that the palace of *Egalité*, resounding once with transient acclamations for the Republic, is no longer the residence of avarice, and the resort of usurers; the retreat of counter-revolutionists, aristocrats, and emigrants; the den of gamesters, and the cavern of vice. Several of the sections have been deluded. This fraternity had all the symptoms of an epidemic distemper, and in less than three days half Paris supped in the streets. All the citizens from all parts of the Republic were intimately acquainted with each other. All families and householders were blended into one mass; the sexes were mixed together, and the sentiments of all were similar. Happy would have been the metamorphose, had it been real; but dangerous and fatal will it prove, if it afford only an opportunity for collecting and combining counter-revolutionists.

"The public corrupters of republicans talk of peace, in order to paralyse the revolutionary government so well organised, and so energetic; that government to which we must attribute our triumphs, which has cleansed the soil of the Republic from faction, which has

driven famine from the land, which united in one mass all the energies of man, and which has opened to the human race, the proud perspective of liberty.

"The storms gather on the horizon; the tempest approaches nearer. The symptoms have been felt by your two committees, which have received news from within and without: we have learnt, that in the sections, and in the popular societies some movements are on the eve of taking place.

"Your committees have adopted the necessary measures. It is on Paris that the enemies of liberty wish to pour the effects of their despair, and of their vice; but the Republic shall be as triumphant at Paris, as it is in every other part."

The proposition for renewing the powers of the committee was energetically opposed by Bourbon De l'Oise. Merlin de Douay, and Lecointre; they proposed a clause, declaring, "Although it was lawful for these committees to apprehend any member of the convention, yet the latter should not be delivered over to the revolutionary tribunal, till the convention itself passed an act of accusation against him." Robespierre was completely foiled by this manœuvre. On July the 26th, he ascended the tribune of the convention, and made a long oration, in which he eulogised the services he had rendered to the country, and adverted to the rumours which prevailed, that he was endeavoring to become Sovereign Dictator; he closed by expressing his suspicions, that even the victories of the armies would be injurious to the Republic, for that the system of Dumouriez was on the eve of manifesting itself in the Belgic countries. Couthon, an agent of Robespierre, moved, that his speech should be printed, and sent into all the departments. It was agreed to print the speech, but not to circulate it; this was another blow to the tyrant's authority. Freron demanded, that the decree which granted power to the committee to apprehend the members of the convention, should be rescinded; this motion was received with applause, and a member cried out, "It is time that the freedom of opinion be established; where is the man who can dare to utter his mind, if he is liable to be arrested for it the next minute?"

On the following day the convention was more nume-

rously attended than for many months preceding; it was resolved to make a bold effort to crush Robespierre, or perish in the attempt. Tallien arose, and accused him of having made a false report as to the state of the armies and of the country; he lamented the abject, the degraded state to which the republic was reduced, and he denounced Robespierre as the cause of the national disgrace: he said, "In the house of that atrocious individual who stands before you, humbled with the consciousness of detected guilt, and overwhelmed with that disapprobation which his recent infamous designs against liberty have so justly merited, were formed those lists of proscriptions against the friends, as well as the foes of liberty, if personally offensive to him; proscriptions intended only to pave the way for his own power, and the establishment of a perpetual dictatorship. Was it (said he) to subject ourselves to so degrading and so abject a tyranny, that we brought to the scaffold the last of the *Capets*, and expended so much blood of French citizens? The French people are attached neither to Robespierre, nor any other individual, Liberty alone is the object of their affections; and whoever forms any designs against it, becomes immediately their enemy." He then recited the various acts of Robespierre, proving that all his acts had been contrary to freedom and liberty. He noticed the restraint which he had imposed on the press, and that none of the journalists were at liberty to print his speeches until he had revised them; thus, cried the orator, with a thunder of eloquence, has this individual arrogated to himself a power which the law would not give to any number of men: that man who would fetter the liberty of the press, should himself be instantly fettered, as an enemy to liberty, and the happiness of mankind.

Billaud Varennes, though a member of the committee of public welfare, supported Tallien. Robespierre's countenance at this time indicated the state of his mind, pale and ghastly, yet with a satanic grin of deadly malice, he rose, with a design to enter into a vindication of his conduct, but the assembly would not suffer him to open his lips; but cried with one voice, "Down with the tyrant, down with the tyrant." Decrees of arrest were immediately passed against Robespierre, his brother, and four deputies, his partisans; they were instantly led out

of the hall by the *gens d'armes* of the guard. A similar decree was passed against Henriot, the commandant of the armed force of Paris. The two Robespierres were conveyed to the Luxembourg; St. Just to the Scotch College; Couthon, and Le Bas, to the *Quatre Nation.* The council of the commonalty of Paris, directed summonses to be issued for convening the whole civic body; which having met, each member signed a declaration, that the capital was in a state of insurrection: orders were sent to the gaolers, into whose custody Robespierre and his adherents were committed, requiring them to bring their prisoners before the administrators at the Town-hall; a military force was sent to compel obedience to this order in case of non-compliance.

Couthon was a cripple, and was obliged to be carried to the mayor's house; Robespierre conveyed a note to him, stating, "That the people felt the violence offered by the convention to their best patriots, and were about to take steps for avenging it;" he, therefore, advised his friend to attend the council at the Town-house; on receiving this message, Couthon was carried on the shoulders of two men to the Town-hall.

The convention, as soon as apprised of the release of the denounced members by the municipality of Paris, decreed, that all who had fled from the decrees of accusation, were outlawed. Fleuriot, the mayor; Dumas, the president of the revolutionary tribunal; Henriot, the commandant; and several others, were involved in this decree. The tocsin was now rang throughout the city, the *generale* was beat, and all the armed force of the sections, with the cannon and artillery, were, by order of Henriot, assembled on the square before the Town-hall. The convention now ordered a proclamation to be read by sound of trumpet, that Henriot was deprived of his command, accused, and outlawed; and that every citizen liable to be called upon for military service, should place himself under the orders of Barras, who, with six assistant members of the convention, had the temporary disposal of the armed force of Paris.

The confusion resulting from these contradictory orders was unparalleled, cannon meeting cannon, battalion meeting battalion, the soldiers demanding of each other, whether they were for or against the convention? The different guards were ordered to fill the cartouch-

boxes with ball cartridges, not knowing against whom they were to discharge them, nor who were to command them. The sections met at ten o'clock at night in full assembly, and unanimously resolved to rally round the convention; and deputations were sent to that assembly declaratory of their resolution.

In the vicinity of Paris was a camp, composed of near six thousand boys, from the age of fourteen years to nineteen; the commander of whom was a man devoted to the interests of Robespierre; these young conscripts suffered their commander to be arrested, and declared for the convention.

An address to the French nation was drawn up by the committees, who, as well as the convention, sat in permanence: a proclamation to the Parisians was made known also, by torch-light and beat of drum, in every quarter of the city; the rebels sent one out at the same time; it was proscription against proscription. The officers, in their scarfs, with the respective proclamations in their hands, passed each other in the streets; many of the guards of these parties were cut to pieces, or maimed by the sabres of each other; on the *Place de Greve* both proclamations were read at one time, and within hearing of the rebel municipality, and ten thousand armed citizens: nothing could be more horrific than this night, rage and fury actuating one class of men to terrify and dismay another; every one felt his existence a burden, from a belief that peace and order were too far fled ever to return.

The proclamation of the proscribed deputies stated, That the members of the convention had become traitors to liberty and their country; that if they proved triumphant, every patriot would be made to answer for the slightest indiscretion in his zeal, and by compounding with aristocracy, totally subdue public spirit, and establish a despotism worse than that which had been pulled down; and that they would assuredly destroy the men who had displayed the greatest firmness and inflexible patriotism.

On the other side, the conventional proclamation described its opponents as rebels, springing from its own bosom; it prohibited, under pain of death, obeying the orders of Henriot; it appealed to Frenchmen, whether they would in one hour lose the fruits of a four years'

revolution, and allow the national sovereignty to be seized by one, or more ambitious tyrants? or whether, by a loyal exertion, they would not rather save liberty and the republic together?

No sooner had this proclamation been read in the Carousal, opposite to the convention, than three companies of cannoneers stationed there, with field-pieces loaded and pointed against its walls, retired without burning a single match. Thus the convention triumphed on every side, for the force sent to the *Maison de Ville*, summoned all within it to surrender, on pain of having the building reduced to ruins over their heads by the discharge of two battering pieces of cannon, when all but twenty persons ran out of the house, while the outlawed deputies were left in, in a state of frenzied desperation.

When the officers who headed the *gens d'armes* entered the chamber to which the deputies had retired, they found Maximilian Robespierre had discharged a pistol, with the intention of blowing his brains out, but it had only shattered one side of his face; another pistol was wrested from the hand of his brother, and a large knife from Couthon, who also had attempted suicide; Le Bas shot himself dead upon the spot: Henriot, while haranguing the populace at a window, was, by desire of the multitude, pitched out, and shockingly mutilated by the fall; he crept away on his hands and knees and hid himself in a common sewer, from whence he was driven by the soldiers pricking him with their bayonets, and secured.

At six in the morning the convention suspended its sitting. Robespierre, and the rest of the deputies, were immediately conveyed to the revolutionary tribunal, merely for the purpose of identifying their persons, and then conveyed to the place of justice; and on the same evening, it being the 28th of July, the two Robespierres, with nineteen others, were executed. The eyes of the spectators were chiefly fixed upon Robespierre, Couthon, and Henriot; the croud forced the tyrant to hold up his head as he passed by the church of Madelaine; but upon being reproached with the murder of Camille, Desmoulens, and Danton, he again let it fall on his breast, and never raised it more. Robe-

spierre † was the last guillotined, but he remained on the scaffold wholly speechless and petrified with horror; Dumas, Tanaquil, Fouquir, the infernal public accuser, and Carrerre, were among the number of those executed. The effects resulting from this event were of the most pleasing nature; the state was in a comparative degree regenerated; the Jacobin club was abolished; hundreds were released from the different prisons; and the execrable decree of the convention, relative to refusing quarter to the English and Hanoverians, was rescinded.

The vengeance of the convention was executed with stern and inflexible justice; every magistrate, whose name was subscribed to the fatal list of Robespierrian

† MAXIMILIAN ROBESPIERRE was born at Arras, in 1759; his father was a barrister in the supreme council of Artois; being in embarrassed circumstances, he left France before the revolution, and went to Cologne, from thence he went to England, and finally to America, where he died. Young Robespierre, in his orphan state, was generously patronised by the Bishop of Arras, who sent him to the College of *Louis le Grand*. He was deputed by the province of Artois as a deputy to the States General, in 1789. In 1792, he demanded that Louis XVI. should be tried. He formed a short intimacy with Marat and Danton, the latter of whom he sacrificed to his insatiable ambition. We have minutely noticed the particulars which led to the fall of this modern Caligula. After he had wounded himself in his jaw, when desirous of wiping away the blood, which continued flowing into his mouth, a cloth was given to him that had been already moistened with blood; when pushing it away, one of his attendants said, "It is blood, it is what thou likest." Upon his requesting the use of pen and ink, his gaoler replied, "What dost thou want with it? Is it to write to thy Maker? Thou wilt see him without delay." In his way to execution, covered with blood and dust, writhing with agony arising from his wound, some women danced before the cart, and one of them cried out to him, "Thy execution intoxicates me with joy! Descend to hell with the curses of all wives and all mothers." When his turn came to be laid down on the guillotine, the executioner tore the dressing off his wound, on which he uttered a horrible cry; his under jaw separated from the upper, and his head presented a most hideous spectacle. He died aged 35 years. The following epitaph was written upon him:

> "Passenger, lament not his fate,
> For was *he* alive, thou wouldst be dead."

A gentleman who frequently was in the habit of seeing Robespierre, described him to the author, as very genteel in his person, and rather elegant in his dress; he used to wear powder, was of a cadaverous complexion, and generally had green spectacles on. He had a pleasing address, and was an eloquent speaker.

proscription, was deemed an associate in the rebellion, and executed accordingly: one hundred and twenty-six of the first magistrates of Paris, were cut off by this means. The convention also published a general amnesty for the Vendeans, a great number of whom laid down their arms.

As the greater part of the Gironde faction had been sacrificed by Robespierre, it was not a little singular that Thomas Paine should have escaped, especially as he was known to disapprove of the conduct of Robespierre; and censured the operation of the guillotine. Paine had been very intimate with Brissot, he had been long known to him, and Brissot spoke the English language fluently; Robespierre hated him, and would unquestionably have sent him to the guillotine, had it not been for the powerful mediation of the Americans; France was at peace with the United States, and it was to preserve a rich American fleet from falling into the hands of the English, that Villaret Joyeuse gave battle to Lord Howe on the 1st of June. In consequence of the imprisonment of Paine, the Americans in Paris drew up a petition to the convention, which they presented at the bar, of which the following is a copy:

"Citizens, the French nation had invited the most illustrious of all foreign nations to the honor of representing her, Thomas Paine, the apostle of liberty in America, a profound and valuable philosopher, a virtuous and esteemed citizen, came to France, and took a seat among you. Particular circumstances rendered necessary the decree to put under arrest all the English residing in France.

"Citizens representatives, we come to demand of you Thomas Paine, in the name of the friends of liberty—in the name of the Americans, your brothers and allies. Was there any thing more wanted to obtain our demand, we would tell you. Do not give to the leagued despots the pleasure of seeing Paine in irons. We shall inform you, that the seals put on the papers of Thomas Paine have been taken off; that the committee of general safety examined them; and that, far from finding among them any dangerous propositions, they only found the love of liberty which characterised him all his life time, that eloquence of nature and philosophy which made him the

friend of mankind, and those principles of public morality which merited the hatred of kings, and the affection of his fellow citizens. In short, citizens, if you permit us to restore Thomas Paine to the embraces of his fellow citizens, we offer to pledge ourselves as securities for his conduct during the short time he shall remain in France."

Paine was released, and shortly after embarked for America,†

In contemplating the horrible ravages which had desolated France by her own inhabitants, more terrible to each other than thousands of foreign foes; the beautiful language of our illustrious and immortal bard, which he has put in the mouth of the Maid of Orleans, when addressing herself to the Duke of Burgundy, is peculiarly appropriate:

> "Look on thy country, look on fertile France,
> And see the cities and the towns defac'd
> By wasting ruin.————

† THOMAS PAINE was born at Thetford, in Norfolk. He was bound apprentice to a stay-maker, which business he followed for some time. He resided in London for a space of time, and acted as an assistant at the Rev. Daniel Noble's school, in Goodman's-fields. He went to America before the commencement of hostilities with Great Britain, and was for some time secretary to the Congress. There he published a pamphlet, entitled "Common Sense," in which he was happy to avail himself of that *Inspired Volume*, which he afterwards so weakly and wickedly attacked, to bring forward some pretended proofs, that a monarchical form of government was *unscriptural*. This publication made him very popular throughout the United States. After the peace of 1783, he again visited England, and speculated in the formation of an Iron Bridge, which was exhibited a short time at Paddington. The "Rights of Man, in two parts," which he published, was a very dangerous work; it was written in a style admirably adapted to the lower classes of society; it abounded with vulgarisms and dangerous hypotheses. This work was ably replied to by Mr. Burke, Sir Brook Boothby John Bowles, Esq. John Adams, Esq. President of the American Congress, and others. Paine was tried and convicted of being the author of "The Rights of Man;" and having left England, was outlawed. After being released from a French prison, through the intercession of the Americans, he sailed for America, and devoted the rest of his life to propagating Deistical principles, which he amply disseminated in his "Age of Reason," which was most admirably animadverted upon by Dr. Watson, the present learned Bishop of Landaff, in his "Apology for the Bible." He died a few years since in America, and, if a letter which appeared in the American papers, signed by the physician who attended him, was authentic, he died without hope, and without God, a miserable blasphemer.

As looks the mother on her lovely babe,
When death does close his tender dying eyes;
See, see the pining malady of France;
Behold the wounds, the most unnatural wounds,
Which thou thyself hast given her woeful breast."

Shakespear's King Henry VI.

CHAP. XIII.

Regulations of the Convention. Suppression of the Jacobins. Plan of National Education. Public Worship. Finances.

THE convention, although it had destroyed that tyranny and oppression under which France had so long groaned, yet maintained the revolutionary government. Experience had developed the danger to be apprehended from leaving power too long in the same hands, means were, therefore, taken to prevent the recurrence of such a circumstance; committees for every distinct department of the government were instituted; the armed force of the city of Paris was no longer trusted to one person, the command was vested in five members, who were each to command five days in turn, and the staff was ordered to assemble as near the seat of legislature as possible; the tribunal was organised, the judges augmented in number, and especially recommended by the people.

Deputies were delegated to examine into the state of the prisons, and release all prisoners against whom there were no specific charges; the result of which excellent regulation was, that near four thousand persons were restored to their families and friends; and seventy-one deputies, who had been imprisoned for more than a year, for protesting against the proceedings carried on against the *Gironde* party, resumed their seats in the convention. Two deputies, who had been infamously conspicuous during the reign of terror, were tried and executed; Lebon and Carrier, the former had been an ecclesiastic, he ordered three hundred persons to be executed in the town of Arras; and "during that time had wallowed in the luxuries and debaucheries of the table, at which the execu-

tioner was his constant guest!" Lebon was the *fac simile* of our Colonel Kirk, in the reign of James the Second; he was convicted of having proposed to several beautiful young women to compound with their virtue, for their lives. He left the guillotine standing at Arras for a week, while he made a journey to Paris, signifying that it would be wanted on his return, and there would not be time to put it up and down. Carrier was the commissioner deputed by the convention to Nantz; he had perpetrated the greatest barbarities during the insurrection in La Vendée.

In organizing the convention sixteen committees were formed, the functions of which were as follow:

"1. The committee of Public Welfare, consisting of twelve members, were to direct and superintend the intercourse with foreign nations; the army, navy, fortresses, ports, arms, arsenals, stores, provisions, ammunition, military hospitals, &c. &c. defence of the frontiers, coasts, and colonies, all military operations, offensive or defensive, the importation, internal circulation, and exportation of provisions of all kinds: it alone had the power of requisition over all persons and things: it had the power of arresting public functionaries and agents, civil or military, in every department under its superintendance, and, in concert with the committee of general safety, might send them to be tried before the revolutionary tribunal: it had a credit on the national treasury of ten millions of livres, for secret and extraordinary expences.

"2. The committee of General Safety, consisting of sixteen members, had the general police of the republic; issued orders of appearance, or arrest, against citizens; released them, or sent them to trial before the revolutionary tribunals: orders to send before the revolutionary tribunal could not be issued by fewer than nine members: when public functionaries were arrested, the committees within whose departments they resided, were to be informed of it in twenty-four hours. This committee had the immediate superintendance of the police of Paris, it could call forth the armed force in aid of the civil magistrate.

"3. The committee of Finance, consisting of forty-eight members; it was to superintend the whole revenue

and expence of the republic, the national treasury, the administration and alienation of domains, assignats, specie, the standard of gold and silver, the general liquidation, and the office of accounts.

"4. The committee of Legislation, consisting of sixteen members; they superintended the courts of justice, and the civil administration; and examined all details on the revisal and classification of laws, and the continuation of the works commenced by former decrees.

"5. The committee of Public Instruction, consisting of sixteen members, was to superintend the national monuments, public libraries, museums, cabinets of natural history, valuable collections, schools, modes of instruction, scientific invention and inquiries, the adjusting of weights and measures, national spectacles, and festivals.

"6. The committee of Agriculture and Arts, consisting of twelve members, superintended draining and clearing ground, breeding of domestic animals, veterinary schools, mechanical arts, and manufacturing industry.

"7. The committee of Commerce and Provisions, consisting of twelve members, superintended the interior police of commerce and markets, and all the objects assigned by the laws to the commission of commerce and provisions.

"8. The committee of Public Works, Mines, and Quarries, directed and superintended the construction of bridges and roads, the general system of roads, rivers, and edifices not military, mines, and quarries; superintended the works ordered for defence on the frontiers, coasts, fortresses, and ports.

"9. The committee of Transports, Posts, and Expresses, consisting of twelve members, directed and superintended transports and expresses, letters sent by post, post-horses; and superintended military convoys, and relays of all sorts.

"10. The Military Committee, consisting of sixteen members, superintended the armed force of Paris; the parole was given daily at noon by the president of the convention to the commandant, and sent at the same time to the military committee. It superintended all matters under the direction of the commission of arms and powder, the military hospitals, the organization and exercise of the troops.

"11. The committee of Marine and Colonies, consisting of twelve members, superintended all matters under the direction of the commission of the marine and the colonies.

"12. The committee of Public Succour, consisting of twelve members, superintended civil hospitals, relief granted to persons at their own houses, the extinction of mendicity, the invalids, the deaf, the dumb, and blind, foundlings, and the health of prisons.

"13. The committee of Division, consisting of twelve members, collected lists of population, the union of communes, places at which the constituted authorities sat, and the distribution of territory.

"14. The committee of Minutes, Decrees, and Archives, consisting of sixteen members, was divided into two sections. The first superintended the archives of the convention, and the zeal of the republic. The second superintended the drawing up of minutes; the dispatch of decrees, the printing, the publishing, and transmission of laws.

"15. The committee of Petitions, Correspondence, and Dispatches, consisting of twelve members, was divided into two sections; the first collected petitions, superintended their compositions, printing, and insertion in the bulletin of correspondence. The second opened all dispatches, analized them, and directed their being read at the tribune.

"16. The committee of Inspectors of the National Palace, consisting of sixteen members, was vested with the power of police, within the limits of the national palace and garden; and superintended the national printing-office, and gave orders for the expences of the convention, the national archives, and the expences of their representatives sent to the departments, or to the armies."

The Jacobins, who had been dispersed after the destruction of Robespierre and his adherents, now began to assemble again, to muster their forces, and make an effort once more to gain the supreme authority. A deputation from the club, with an address, was sent to the convention, couched in very imperious language; it regretted the ill consequences that must arise from the system of lenity which had been adopted; it presaged

the return of emigrants to the bosom of France; it closed with menacing the convention, that should not proper measures be resorted to, the club had strength and energy sufficient to become the salvation of the country.

The convention directed the three committees of public welfare, and of legislation, to make a report on the popular societies. On the day when this report was presented, a vast croud assembled around the doors of the hall of the convention, on which the guard of Paris was doubled, and paraded the streets in strong patroles. Delmas made the report; in his speech he began by admitting, that he revered the principles on which popular societies were established, and granted, that they had rendered great services to the cause of liberty; but they also generated dangers, which it was requisite to guard against; aspersing and intriguing men, abused them to overthrow the beautiful edifice of the Temple of Liberty: the influence these societies had acquired in the government, kept the eyes of its members fixed on the interests of the people. Great debates ensued upon the reading of this report; and a decree was passed on Ocober 16, 1794, ordaining, "That all the affiliations and correspondence between the popular societies are prohibited, as subversive of the revolutionary government." A second decree was issued, which suppressed the society altogether; as also another society, denominated the Electoral Club.

Amidst the anarchy which had so long pervaded the nation, the education of youth had been greatly neglected; the attention of the legislative body was directed to this important point; Gregoire, Guaud, and a few scientific members of the convention were employed on plans to facilitate and improve national education; a school was established at Paris, for forming and training masters, who were afterwards to have the superintendance of the elementary schools in the provinces: this school for adults was established and held in the hall. In these efforts to ameliorate and soften the rigor of the times, to return in some degree to order, and evidence some concern of principles of morality, it was calculated to make a favorable impression on the minds of the people; and afforded a gleam of hope, that the dark cloud which had so long hung over that unhappy country, was about to disperse. These favorable ideas were

strengthened by the following decree, relative to the exercise of public worship:

"1. Conformable to the seventh article of the declaration of the rights of man, and the hundred and twenty-second article of the constitution, the exercise of any public worship cannot be disturbed.

"2. The republic pays for none.

"3. The republic furnishes no place for the exercise of worship, nor for the lodging of its ministers.

"4. The ceremonies of every worship are interdicted out of the limits of the place chosen for their exercise.

"5. The law does not recognise any minister of worship: none can appear in public with the dress or ornaments attached to religious ceremonies.

"6. Every assembly of citizens for the exercise of any worship whatsoever, is subject to the superintendance of the constituted authorities. This superintendance is confined to measures of police and public safety.

"7. No sign particular to any worship can be exhibited in any public place, nor externally, in any manner whatever. The place appropriated to any worship cannot be distinguished by any inscription: no proclamation, or public convocation, can be made to invite the citizens to it.

"8. The communes, or sections of communes, cannot, in their collective capacity, purchase or rent any place for the exercise of worship.

"9. No such place can be formed by endowment, or established by any tax, to defray the expence.

"10. Whoever shall disturb by violence the ceremonies of any worship, or insult the objects of it, shall be punished according to the law of correctional police.

"11. Nothing herein contained to be construed in prejudice of the law on ecclesiastical pensions, the dispositions of which law shall be executed according to their form and tenor.

"12. Every decree, the dispositions of which are contrary to the present law, is repealed."

In spite of the powerful endeavors of the atheists to exterminate the principles of natural and revealed religion, there was a natural antipathy in the majority of the French people to admit the new philosophy; and

even Robespierre was so well convinced of this as to have before his death, established a festival in honor of the Deity, when he himself delivered an oration in proof of the existence of a Supreme Being.

The national finances were at this time in the most deranged state; Johannot, a member of the committee of finance, made a report to the convention of the expences of the month of August, 1794, only, "They exceeded the receipt in the sum of one hundred and ninety-three millions, twenty-seven thousand, one hundred and four livres; according to this ratio, this sum reduced to pounds sterling, would be more than eight millions; and continued at that rate, the deficit for one year would be above a hundred millions over the revenue of the country."

CHAP. XIV.

Proclamation to the Royalists in La Vendée. Peace between France, Tuscany, Prussia, Hesse Cassel, and Spain. Fermentation in Paris. Vendean War resumed.

1795. It was sound policy in the new government to be guided in its primary acts by principles of extreme moderation, in addition to other deeds of clemency, which had greatly enhanced its popularity; a proclamation was drawn up, published, and circulated in La Vendée, addressed to the royalists; it pourtrayed, in glowing colours, the desolation and ravages occasioned by that fatal civil war; it stated that thousands and tens of thousands, had fallen victims to the pride of a few ambitious leaders; it earnestly entreated them to put an end to the calamities which had thus visited their country, and closed with the following sentences: "It is time that the enemies of France should cease to be gratified by the spectacle of our internal dissensions; they alone smile at your misfortunes; they alone profit from them; it is necessary to defeat their impious intentions, to frus-

trate their plans; turn against them those arms they have supplied you with for our destruction. Are the ties of nature dissolved? and has the blood of the English passed into your veins? Would you massacre the families of your brother conquerors of Europe, rather than unite yourselves to them, and partake of their glory? No: you are now enlightened by the voice of truth; and already many of you are returned, and find security the basis of your confidence: return, all of you, and let the fireside of each become secure and peaceful; let the lands be cultivated, and let plenty resume its reign! Let us join in avenging ourselves of our common enemy, of that implacable and jealous nation which has thrown the brand of discord amongst us! Let all our republican energy be directed against those who have violated the sacred rights of the people! Let the utmost vigor be apparent throughout all our ports; let the ocean be covered with our privateers, and let the war of extermination, with all its attendant horrors, be carried from the banks of the *Loire* to the banks of the Thames."

This proclamation, which breathed so hostile and malignant a spirit against England, was followed by an amnesty. From some causes, which we will not attempt to ascertain, the British cabinet had neglected to furnish sufficient money, arms, and ammunition, for the support of the Vendeans; it was deemed expedient at this time to send over fresh supplies to Charette, their leader; but a great number, induced by the offer made in the above proclamation, had deserted his standard, and made their peace with the convention. After some preliminary negociations, Charette, on the part of the Vendeans, and Cormantine, on the part of the Chouans, declared their intention of resigning their arms, and delivering up their magazines, and henceforth to become incorporated with the republic as faithful members of the community. On March 7, a treaty was concluded, and signed at Nantes, by which it was agreed, "That eighty millions of livres should be granted to the inhabitants of La Vendée, as an indemnification for the losses they had sustained; that the contracts entered into between the generals and the inhabitants of La Vendée, should be discharged by the French republic; that the inhabitants of La Vendee should acknowledge the French republic; that General

Charette should make out a list of persons to be banished from La Vendée, and that he should have the command of two thousand men; that the free exercise of the Catholic religion should be tolerated, and the exiled nonjuring priests should be allowed to return, and be restored to their patrimonial, but not to their ecclesiastical, property; that there should be no districts, or municipalities, but merely a national agent in La Vendée, in which no requisitions should take place for the space of five years."

Charette published, in the name of himself and his brother chieftains, an *exposé* of the motives which induced them to take up arms, namely, the sanguinary and tyrannical oppression of Robespierre and his agents; but as that "government of blood had disappeared, the cause of revolt had ceased." These chiefs accompanied this apology with an earnest address to the inhabitants of La Vendée, exhorting them to implicit obedience to the laws of the republic.

Stofflet, another Vendean chief, was not at first so obsequious, but existing circumstances rendered it expedient for him to sign a treaty on April 20. The declaration of Stofflet was as follows:

"We, the general and principal officers of the catholic and royal army of Anjou, and Upper Poitou, declare, that animated with the desire of peace, we have retarded its conclusion to this day solely to consult the desires of the people, whose interests have been confided to us; and those of the catholic and royal army of Britanny: we adhere to the measures taken by the deputies for the pacification of the insurgent departments, and submitting ourselves wholly to the laws of the republic, promising never to bear arms against her, and to send our artillery with as little delay as possible."

(Signed by STOFFLET, and seventeen of the Chiefs.)

A political occurrence of very great consequence, and still more favorable for the interests of France, was the treaty of peace entered into with the Grand Duke of Tuscany: the terms agreed upon were as follow:

"1. The Grand Duke of Tuscany revokes every act of adhesion, consent, or accession, to the armed coalition against the French republic.

Frederick William 3d.

KING OF PRUSSIA.

"2. In consequence there shall be peace, friendship, and a good understanding between the French republic, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

"3. The neutrality of Tuscany is re-established on the footing upon which it stood before the 5th of October, 1793.

"4. This treaty shall not have effect till after being ratified by the national convention.

"Done at Paris, at the National Palace, the 21st Pluviose, of the third year of the French Republic one and indivisible, (9th Feb. 1795, of the common æra)."

Tuscany was the first belligerent power which had made peace with the republic; this was a proud circumstance, and argued favorably. A grand event followed. We have had occasion to notice some misunderstandings which had arisen between Prussia and Austria; and the reluctance the former had expressed in continuing the coalition against France. Prussia had been subsidized by England, but still she evinced a coolness in the alliance which portended a dereliction of the cause of the allied powers: the mask was at length thrown aside, and a treaty of peace was concluded between the French Republic and the King of Prussia, on April 5, of which the following were the articles:

"1. There shall be peace, amity, and good understanding, between the French republic and the King of Prussia, considered both as such and as Elector of Brandenbourg, and co-estate of the German empire.

"2. In consequence, all hostilities between the two contracting powers shall cease, from the day of the ratification of the present treaty, and neither of them from the same period, shall furnish against the other, in any quality, or under any title whatsoever, any succours or contingent, in men, horses, provisions, money, warlike stores, or otherwise.

"3. Neither of the contracting powers shall grant a passage through its territory, to the troops of the enemies of the other.

"4. The troops of the French republic shall evacuate, within fifteen days of the ratification of the present treaty,

the parts of the Prussian states they may occupy on the right bank of the Rhine.

"The contributions, deliveries, supplies, and services of war, shall cease entirely within fifteen days after the signature of this treaty.

"All arrears due at that period, as well as billets and promises, given or made in that respect, shall be null.

"5. The troops of the French republic shall continue to occupy those parts of the states of the King of Prussia situated on the left banks of the Rhine; all definitive arrangements with respect to those provinces, shall be deferred till the general pacification with the German empire.

"6. Until a treaty of commerce between the two powers shall be made, all the commercial communications and relations between France and the Prussian States, shall be re-establised on the footing upon which they were before the present war.

"7. As the dispositions of article six, cannot have their full effect, but in proportion as liberty of commerce shall be re-established for all the north of Germany, the two contracting powers shall take measures for removing from it the theatre of war.

"8. To individuals of the two nations respectively, shall be granted the restoration of all effects, revenues, or property of whatever kind, detained, seized, or confiscated, on account of the war between France and Prussia, as well as prompt justice with respect to all debts due in the states of either of the two contracting powers to the subjects of the other.

"9. All persons taken respectively since the commencement of war, without regard to difference of numbers, or rank, including Prussian marines or sailors taken either in Prussian ships, or ships of other nations, as well as in general all those detained on either side on account of the war, shall be restored within the space of two months at the latest, after the exchange of ratifications of the present treaty, on paying the private debts they may have contracted during their captivity. The same shall be done with respect to the sick and wounded immediately after their getting well.

"Commissioners shall be immediately appointed on both sides for executing this article.

"10. The prisoners of Saxon, Mentz, Palatine, and

Hessian corps, with those of Hesse-Cassel and Darmstadt, who have served in the army of the King of Prussa, shall be included in the exchange abovementioned.

"11. The French republic will accept the good offices of his Majesty the King of Prussia, in favor of the princes and states of the German empire who shall desire to enter directly into negociation with it, and who to that end have already requested, or shall request, the interposition of the king.

"The French republic, to give the King of Prussia a first proof of its desire to concur in the re-establishment of the ancient bonds of amity which have subsisted between the two nations, consents not to treat as an enemy's country, during the space of three months after the ratification of the present treaty, the territories of those princes and states of the empire aforesaid, situated on the left bank of the Rhine, in whose favor the king shall interest himself.

"12. The present treaty shall have no effect till after being ratified by the contracting parties; and the ratifications shall be exchanged in the city of Basle, within one month from this date, or sooner if possible."

The King of Prussia had aggrandised his Electorate of Brandenbourg, by annexing to it Dantzic and Thorn, great commercial cities; as also some of the most fertile provinces of Poland. The above treaty was ratified at Basle, by the Baron de Hardenberg on the part of the king, and M. Barthelemy† on the part of the republic. Frederick was too sensible of the perfidy of his conduct, to say nothing of his pusillanimity, not to make an attempt to justify his conduct in the eyes of Europe. A state paper was drawn up on this subject, in which his Majesty observed, "That after three bloody campaigns, fertile in death and desolation, is not suffering humanity brought sufficiently low? His Majesty cannot wholly sacrifice himself, and leave his dominions entirely a prey to destruction, for the sake of participating in the future experiment of a war, the result of which, if it were even as favorable as possible, would be still inferior to a present negociation for peace. All consideration of foreign

† Brother to the celebrated author of the "Travels of Anacharsis."

and domestic relations, as likewise the sacred duties which his Majesty owes to the prosperity of his provinces, to his subjects longing for peace and tranquillity, and to the happiness of his own royal bosom, summon him most urgently to renounce forthwith a war whose future issue must only prove ruin past redemption."

This peace with Prussia, so eminently advantageous to France, was followed by another between the Landegrave of Hesse Cassel, and the French republic, in which the King of Prussia was the mediator. By this treaty it was stipulated, that the French should still continue to occupy one of the Landegrave's fortresses, namely, that of Rheinfeldt, and that he should immediately break off the two subsidiary treaties in which he was engaged with Great Britain.

Never since the establishment of the republic had there existed a period so flattering as the present crisis. The sovereigns of Europe, who had so proudly coalesced to crush and annihilate the new government of France, appeared of a sudden panic struck, "shorn of their splendid beams," they sued with ignominious spirit for peace, which was granted on such terms as an insulted and victorious foe will ever dictate. The forces of his Catholic Majesty having been obliged to abandon the French territory, the republican army entered Biscay, and Navarre; the towns of St. Sabastian, and Fontarabia, were surrendered to the French, the inhabitants receiving them with open arms. The court of Madrid was justly alarmed at these brilliant successes, and the following proclamation was issued by the governor of the province of Biscay:

"BRAVE SPANIARDS,

"At a time when I only wish to declare to you certain truths, which may serve to quiet your minds, and when I only require of you to hear me, my unremitting attention to the concerns of the public, entitles me to your attention, and your own interest in the public tranquillity, assures me that I shall obtain it.

"I am well aware, that venal and infected writers will employ themselves in describing the events of this war in terms of desperation, and that slanderers and audacious people will represent the force of the enemy as irresistible. I know, alas! that traitors to God, the king, and

the public, will neglect no means of spreading their detestable principles, and represent them to you as practicable ones. I know also, that there will not be wanting corrupt spies, who will represent as things easy to be obtained, difficulties which are insuperable; but at the same time, I am fully convinced of your loyalty, and the king is convinced of it too, and he relies on it, as a defence against the impetuous torrent of their madness.

"Do you know the real state of our forces? They are sufficient not only to repel, but to annihilate entirely the enemy, as soon as all the reinforcements for the army are concentrated, which are now marching with the greatest dispatch, and are inspired with more ardor to meet the enemy than to remain inactive.

"Spaniards, there are only twenty thousand men, weak and undisciplined troops, who can maintain the war against us, on the detestable frontiers of Navarre, and Biscay; nor can there possibly be more, owing to the present condition of their country. The allied armies occupy particularly their attention; and in proportion as the French armies appear to increase their effective force really decreases. The tyrants who govern France, only obtained a forced obedience from the army; the ravages of death and the guillotine are the means by which they obtain it; but at the same time, there are resources to spread amongst them terror and desperation. The French are already convinced, that there exists no longer amongst them the sacred rights of property, and that justice has disappeared; and that under the pretext of the good of mankind, they perceive they are only enslaving them. Unfortunately, several of our unhappy countrymen are already in that situation: the enemy have not left one single inhabitant in possession of his freedom, in all the places where they have penetrated; nor is that to be wondered at; such a licentiousness is the certain consequence of their shameless voracity; but understand this, and you will be convinced of the insufficiency of their arms.

"Can you possibly imagine, that twenty thousand men can overturn our country, if we resolve to extirpate the enemy? Read our histories, and in them you will find an answer to that question, in the innumerable deeds of valor performed by our glorious ancestors, who defended

in all ages their country, in several situations more critical than the present. The present invasion is not surprising, considering the openness of the country; but they can no longer promise themselves any further progress, as the mountainous country now before them, will necessarily stop them; besides, you may rely on the activity of our general, who will not suffer them to remain in possession of that tract of our country which they have usurped, any longer than he finds it convenient; but as soon as he shall resolve to destoy them, he will accomplish their destruction. Dissipate, therefore, all your fears, and at the same time make one great effort to preserve your property. The cause of God and his holy law command you to do it. Neither ought you to expect that your fields will produce any thing, till you make these efforts in defence of God and his holy law, God will assist, and he will fight for you. Implore sincerely his assistance, to obtain which I have already ordered public prayers to be made.

"But notwithstanding all this, do not despair; nor believe we are in the last extremity: we do not want means to oppose the public enemy. The king will crush their pride, at the head of his catholic army. The Almighty will stretch forth his sword of vengeance against the violators of his holy name! Your sovereign relies on the loyalty of Spaniards, which he endeavors to compensate, by diminishing, as far as is consistent with his royal splendor, the expences of his court and household, to prevent the necessity of laying on more taxes.

"This conduct of their majesties, their paternal assiduity, and the king's unremitting attention to the dispatch of all public business, and particularly in the strict administration of justice, merit a very extraordinary recompence on your part. Let us imitate his indefatigable vigilance; let us follow his illustrious example, in endeavoring to promote the public good, and let every one perform his respective duties, by which means we shall re-establish public happiness.

"Let the upright intentions of their majesties be propitious to your tranquillity, and there will not be a single subject who will not reap the greatest benefits.

"I beg from you, my dear countrymen, to consider well what I have said, and I hope you will find my expressions equally sincere, intelligible, and true. My

only object is to preserve your tranquillity, and to excite your indignation against a troop of banditti that attempts to disturb you. If I succeed in this, you will see in a few days the fruits of my dispositions, co-operate with me, and you will very soon procure the recompence of your fatigues.

"Our religion will contribute to our glorious triumph, God will protect his holy law, and I will not cease to invoke his assistance.

"ALEXANDER."

An address was also circulated by the clergy, to animate the people to rise *en masse*, and repel the invaders; the effect of which was that a number of volunteers, headed by priests and monks, joined the Spanish army, and many skirmishes took place, in which these ill-disciplined and bigoted troops were fiercely routed; nor would the powerful mediation of all the host of saints that were carried into the field, prevent the disgrace which covered the Spanish troops; the towns of Biscay and Navarre wisely concluding, that any further resistance would be unavailing, made offers of peace, by deputations sent to the French. The Spanish army, after a series of defeats, retreated towards Pampeluna, the capital of Navarre: while strongly entrenched under the walls of that town, it was attacked by the French, and, after an engagement which lasted fourteen hours, the Spaniards were obliged to abandon their camp, and retire into the town. On this occasion, the loss of the Spanish army was estimated at 2,500 men, left dead on the field; and their flight was so precipitate, that the gates of Pampeluna were not wide enough to receive the affrighted fugitives. The inhabitants of this place immediately opened the gates to the conquering army, as did Bilboa, and the tree of liberty was planted in the public squares of each town. The news of these events occasioned the greatest consternation, even at Madrid, where the most serious apprehensions were entertained of a visit from the armies of the republic.

On the coasts of the Mediterranean the laurels of victory encircled the brows of the French generals; Dugommere bombarded Bellegarde; the besieged were reduced to the last extremity, when they proposed to capitulate; they were answered, that no terms would be

accepted, that they must surrender at discretion, and rely upon the generosity of the republic: upon the town being given up, the Spaniards were treated with lenity, but no mercy was shown to the French emigrants who were found there, they were instantly put to the sword.

The Spanish camp was defended by a hundred batteries, mounted with cannons, and forty thousand men, strongly entrenched; the French soldiers, flushed with success, marched to the attack of this formidable camp with enthusiastic ardor; the assault continued three hours, when the entrenchments were assailed with the fixed bayonet, the Spaniards were completely routed, the camp taken, and a dreadful carnage ensued; a considerable deal of booty, and tents for fifty thousand men, fell into the possession of the conquerors: General Count De l'Union, who was the commander of the camp at Collisaro, was found amongst the slain. The French army now attacked the fort of Ferdinando de Figueres, which speedily surrendered; the garrison consisted of ten thousand men, who were made prisoners; one hundred and seventy-one pieces of cannon, and a large quantity of warlike stores were also taken. Thus, notwithstanding the exertions of the Spanish government, the army of the Eastern Pyrennees was vanquished, on the energy of which an implicit degree of confidence had been placed. The French seized upon Vittoria, and General Miollis, crossed the Ebro, and took possession of Miranda, in Old Castile, within one hundred and sixty miles of Madrid. His Catholic Majesty viewed it proper under such emergencies to enter into negociations for peace, and Don Domingo d'Yriate, concluded a treaty of pacification, which was signed on July 22. In this treaty the two following articles were of great importance:

"Art. 7. There shall immediately be named by both sides commissioners, for the purpose of adjusting a treaty of limits between the two powers: they shall as much as possible take as the basis of this treaty, with respect to the territories which were disputed before the present war, the tops of the mountains which are the sources of the rivers of France and Spain.

"9. In exchange for the places restored by the fourth article, the King of Spain, for himself and his succes-

sors, gives up and abandons to the French republic, all right of property in the Spanish part of St. Domingo, one of the Antilles: a month after the ratification of the present treaty shall be known in that island, the Spanish troops shall be in readiness to evacuate the places, ports, and establishments which they at present occupy, in order to give them up to the troops of the French republic, as soon as they shall arrive to take possession of them; the places, ports, and establishments, of which mention is made above, shall be delivered up to the French republic, with the cannon, warlike stores, and articles necessary for their defence, which shall be in them at the moment when the present treaty shall be known at St. Domingo: the inhabitants of the Spanish part of St. Domingo, who from inducements of interest, or other motives, shall prefer removing with their property into the dominions of his catholic majesty, shall be allowed to do so, within the space of a year from the date of the treaty: the respective generals and commanders of the two nations shall concert the measures necessary to be taken for the execution of the present article."

France still continued to be agitated by intestine division. On March 2, a report was presented to the convention, in which Barrere, Collot d'Herbois, and Billaud de Varennes, were accused of being accessary to the enormities committed by Robespierre. The new admitted deputies, those who had been proscribed and imprisoned, were desirous of having the sanction of their fellow citizens, to act as legislators, after they had been expelled by an act of exclusion. A number of the sections of Paris appeared at the bar of the convention, to declare, that their intention was only to defend the national representation, and they designated some of the members as conspirators, who, feeling irritated at such language, formed themselves into a party to consult upon means of defence: the marked deputies resorted to the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, and, in conjunction with the leading men in it, formed a plan for an insurrection: the committees made a report to the convention of these proceedings, and they had power delegated to them for the maintenance of the public peace.

In the sitting of March 21, the hall of the convention

was surrounded by an immense number of people, without arms, who desired admission as a deputation from several of the Fauxbourgs; by a majority of voices it was resolved that they should not be received; and, in order to nip the insurrection in the very bud, a decree was passed, that the leaders of the revolt should be seized, and punished on the spot. A report was made, (drawn up by twenty-one members,) upon the conduct of Barrere, and the other members, and Saladin, one of the restored Girondin members, was the organ through whom it was received.

The whole city of Paris was now in a state of extreme perturbation, the armed force was called out, the members whose conduct had been scrutinized in the report, were tried, and sentenced to be transported to Guiana; the metropolis was suffering under the pressure of a great scarcity, the price of labor was under legal regulations, and the value of assignats was depreciated every day.

A subject productive of great dissatisfaction had arisen in consequence of a decree which had infringed upon the liberty of the press; the committee of public welfare were authorized to imprison all writers who might animadvert with too great freedom on the government. Deputations of the sections appeared at the bar, inveighing in the severest terms against this new edict; the convention treating these remonstrances with indifference, flags were hoisted in the public streets on poles, inscribed with, "Liberty of the Press;" "Bread and the Constitution;" "The primary Assemblies, and a new Legislature."

On May 19, the insurrection began to assume a threatening aspect; the *generale* was beat early in the morning, and the members hastened to the convention, the sitting was declared permanent; the administrators of the police were charged to transmit every hour, to the committee of general safety, a report of the state of the capital; the commune of Paris was made responsible for any act of violence committed against the national representation; the commanding officer of the armed force of Paris was enjoined to call over every man's name on the roll, and report those who were absent; every twenty persons beating, or leading on a mob, were viewed as ringleaders: a proclamation was ordered by the conven-

tion to be printed, and posted in the most conspicuous parts of the city, and ten deputies were commissioned to go to different parts of the metropolis to appease the populace: a great number of women rushed into the hall of the convention, loudly exclaiming, "Bread! Bread and the constitution of 1793;" the deliberations of the convention were of course suspended for some time, the galleries exhibited a scene of confusion and tumult, and the president was obliged to quit the chair. The commandant of the armed force was summoned to appear at the bar, to take an oath to cause the convention and the law to be respected. The military fired upon the people, and many were killed, and others taken prisoners; a cry of "To arms! to arms!" was heard throughout all the avenues leading to the convention, and nothing was heard but the clashing of swords and the firing of artillery: the croud, at length, rushed into the place where the members were sitting, and a deputy having pulled off the hat of one of the mob, with a label, "Bread and the Constitution," on it, he was immediately surrounded with sabres, and only escaped death by taking refuge in the tribune. Ferrand, another deputy, was killed on the spot; several cannoneers entered the assembly sword in hand; the members who remained were friendly to the insurgents, who, after a recital of popular grievances, appointed a new president, and passed decrees for releasing all those persons who had been imprisoned since the death of Robespierre, and for removing the different constituted committees.

The triumph of the insurgents was but of short duration, the commandant of the armed forces entered, and killed a great number of them, and seized upon those deputies, who, by their presence, had sanctioned the revolt, and conveyed them to prison; all the decrees which had passed were annulled; and the heads of those who had been killed, were placed upon pikes, and paraded through the streets. The assassins who had slain Ferrand, had sheltered themselves in the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, the convention, therefore, passed many severe decrees against that district, threatening to march all the other sections against it, the fear of which occasioned the inhabitants to deliver up all their cannon, and the assassins of Ferrand also.

Eleven members of the convention were impeached as

the authors of this insurrection; three eluded punishment by flight, eight were tried by a military commission, two of whom were sentenced to exile, and six to death; as also three civil magistrates, eighteen *gens d'armes*, and twenty-six private citizens. The deputies who were condemned, confessed the designs they had in view, and defended the principles upon which they had acted: five of them, after depositing their pocket-books, watches, and portraits, of their wives, or friends, on the table of the commissioner, retired and stabbed themselves with knives which they had purposely concealed in the lining of their clothes.

The convention having, with very great difficulty, quelled this serious insurrection, proceeded to acts of conciliation; every exertion of a legislative nature was made to procure a supply of the necessaries of life; the liberty of the press was restored by a new decree; and a proclamation was issued, assuring the people, that the number of the internal enemies of the republic were daily decreasing, and a small portion of patience, under necessary privations, would ultimately secure stability to the republic, and consequent prosperity.

Scarcely had this commotion been subdued in the capital, but the flames of civil war were again kindled in another part of the kingdom. The republic had failed to advance the sums stipulated in the treaty with the Vendeans and Chouans; and in consequence of this breach of faith, Charette and Stofflet, were in arms in the month of June. The royalists had suggested to the British cabinet, the expediency of making an attack upon France, in the most vulnerable part of her dominions: and as a probability of success was attached to the project, several regiments, chiefly of emigrants resident in England, were raised and embodied, to complete which a number of criminals from the gaols were added, a measure not of the most prudent kind; a spirit of subordination could not well be expected from men of such a character; that a mutinous disposition should be evinced upon these when they were on board, affords no matter of surprise. The Vendean army was commanded by Charette; and the Chouans by Joseph Count de Puisaye, assisted by Stofflet, Seepecuse, and Sapineau; the Duc de Harcourt was chosen on the part of the emigrants in England, with Lord Grenville and Mr.

Windham, to superintend the raising of the corps to be embarked for La Vendée; the force consisted of seven regiments, of one thousand five hundred men each; and money was advanced to the following noble emigrants for equipping them, D'Autichamp, D'Hervilly, De Castrie, De Viosmenil, De Dresnay, De Bethisy, and De Mortmair.

Charette published a spirited manifesto, on June 26, explaining the cause of his again taking up arms; another was issued by the Count de Puisaye, in which it was specified, that the King of Great Britain was about to send troops to their assistance.

The French government was well acquainted with the designs of England respecting the royalists in La Vendée: the English fleet, under the command of Lord Bridport, had put to sea; and nearly at the same time the republican fleet left Brest; an action took place at Port L'Orient, when the Alexander, the Tryre, and the Formidable were captured. The French fleet consisted of twelve sail of the line, and eleven frigates, with sloops and cutters.

The army destined for the relief of the French royalists embarked in transports, under the command of Sir John Borlase Warren, and, after sixteen days voyage, anchored in the Bay of Quiberon; and on June 28, a landing was effected in the northern part of the bay; the debarkation was made in the night, under the orders of General D'Herville. The first movement of the emigrants was to take possession of Avray and Vannes; they also captured fort Penthurre, in which were six hundred men, who were sent prisoners on board the British fleet. The royalists soon after made themselves masters of the whole peninsula, together with the entrenched camp of Carnac; and Puisaye was joined at the village of Genese by a body of Chouan peasantry. General Hoche, and General Josuet, commanded the republican forces; the former had fifteen thousand troops, and a heavy train of artillery. The national convention deputed two members, Blad and Tallien, to repair to Brittany to superintend affairs, and to rouse the inhabitants to an energetic opposition to the invading army; and a vast number of republican troops were collected at Vannes, from all the neighbouring departments; and Gene-

ral Groachy, with a detachment, forced a body of emigrants who had landed at Susinia, to re-embark on board their boats, before they could effect a junction with Puisaye's army. The Anglo-emigrant army being now greatly augmented, it was resolved to venture an attack upon the entrenched camp of General Hoche, at St. Barbe; but the enemy received prior intelligence of this design, and as the columns of the royalist army advanced, General Humbert made a *ruse de guere*, and fell back on the camp, followed with rash impetuosity by the emigrants, upon whom a masked battery of grape-shot was opened, which did dreadful execution; in a moment the whole army of assailants was in confusion, and completely routed; Count de Thalmont, and three hundred of the emigrants, were killed; General D'Herville was wounded, and three pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the republicans. Hoche now determined to attack the invaders; accordingly, on the 20th of July, in the night, three thousand republicans, commanded by Generals Humbert and Valie, were dispatched from the camp at St. Barbe, and attacked fort Penthievre; Hoche, with the rest of the army, followed, attended by the deputies Blade and Tallien: the royalist army was unable to withstand the mighty power of the republicans. The Count de Puisaye relinquished the command, which devolved upon M. Sombreuiel: the entrenched camp of the emigrants was forced, and fort Penthievre taken, in which was an immense quantity of military stores and clothing; near seven hundred of the emigrants perished at the foot of a rock, called *Le Rocher de Portignes:* the ex-bishop of Dol, M. de Broglio, Count De Sombreuil, with a number of the clergy and officers, were put to death. After this disastrous event, Charette, Stofflet, and Puisaye, vainly endeavored to ferment another insurrection in Britanny, but their efforts were abortive. Charette †

† CHARETTE, the brave leader of the Vendeans, was born at Machecould, near Nantz, in 1764. He was originally destined for naval service, and at the commencement of the revolution served as a lieutenant in the navy. When he erected the royal standard of France, he was only twenty-eight years of age. His army was first composed of Chouans, so denominated from the three sons of a blacksmith, named Chouan, who heretofore had been notorious as smugglers. The army of Charette was very sanguinary, scarcely did an action take place in La Vendee, in which either the one or the other of the contending parties were not nearly destroyed. In the battle of Mortagne, thirty thousand

and Stofflet were taken prisoners, tried by a court martial, and shot at Nantes. Thus fatally terminated a zealous, meritorious, but ill-concerted measure, of an heroic band of men, who spurned to submit to the laws of the self-created governors of their native country.

CHAP. XV.

Opening of the Campaign of 1795. *Siege of Mentz. Military Operations in Italy. Naval Transactions. Capture of the Dutch Settlements by the English.*

The unfortunate events which had occurred during the campaign of the last year, to the allied armies, occasioned the military operations of the ensuing campaign to be deferred till the latter end of May; early in June the strong fortress of Luxembourg was attacked by the French troops; this place was accounted the most impregnable of any in Europe, and the Austrians had supplied it with vast quantities of provision and ammunition, the commander was Field Marshal Bender, a veteran officer. It was found impracticable to reduce this place by

men were slain; in that of Saumur, ten thousand republicans were killed; and in that of Mons, the royalists lost fifteen thousand men killed, and the republicans twelve thousand. After the discomfiture the loyalists had received from General Hoche, Charette retreated with forty adherents, and took refuge in the woods. He sullied the glory he had acquired, by some savage instances of cruelty; in the commune of St. Hilaire, near Paluan, he put to death, with his own hand, a father, his son, and his son-in-law, merely upon suspicion. He was taken by a corporal of chasseurs; the corporal caught hold of him by the coat, Charette ran away, dragging the coporal after him until he came to an hedge, over which he attempted to leap, but fell, and was taken up in a state of insensibility; when he recovered his senses, the first words he uttered were, "Whose prisoner am I;" "Travaux," was the answer; "So much the better (said he), he is the only man worthy to take me." Being too weak to walk, he was put on a horse, and conducted to the Chatean *de Ponte de Vie*, the next day he was taken to St. Angers, from whence he was conveyed to Nantz, where he suffered. Being asked, Whether he would have a bandage over his eyes? "No, (answered Charette) I have looked death often enough in the face to be able to brave him." This heroic commander was only thirty-one years of age when he suffered death.

any other means than that of starving it into a surrender. For a long time the efforts of the besiegers were abortive; the garrison continued to make vigorous sorties, till they were so reduced by famine, as to be incapable of any further exertion. On June 7, the Marshal capitulated, but obtained for his garrison permission to retire to Germany, on condition of not serving until exchanged; upon these conditions the garrison was conducted safely across the Rhine: the emigrants, as usual, were given up without any stipulations whatever. General Jourdan, with the republican army, crossed the Rhine, and attacked Dusseldorf: the Austrians were filled with terror at this unexpected event, they abandoned the city, and retreated towards the Lahn, where General Clairfayt was posted. The whole Duchy of Berg submitted to the French, and the inhabitants vied with each other in giving every assistance to the conquerors.

Pichegru having been acquainted with these brilliant exploits, crossed the Rhine, and with his army advanced against Manheim, and with great facility obtained possession of that important city: the French now had possession of a sufficient tract of country to undertake the siege of Mentz. General Wurmser, who was rapidly advancing for the relief of Manheim, endeavored to form a junction with Clairfayt, but was overtaken and defeated by a detachment of the Rhine and Moselle. During the siege of Mentz, the allies attacked the French with great fury, the battle was obstinately contended, but victory at last declared in favor of the allies; the republicans were obliged to retreat with great loss. Pichegru being precluded from rendering any assistance to Jourdan, the latter was obliged to raise the siege of Mentz, and retreat to Dusseldorf, where he repassed the Rhine; Pichegru, after falling back upon Manheim, crossed that river also. The victorious allied armies now retook the Palatinate, and the greater part of the country between the Rhine and the Moselle.

Pichegru and Jourdan having obtained reinforcements, again marched to encounter the allies; the former carried the town of Krentznach twice, by storm, in one day, but was obliged finally to evacuate it; and Jourdan was defeated in an attack upon Kayserslauten, with the loss of two thousand men, after which Manheim was recaptured by the allies. The campaign on the Rhine was

terminated, the winter season approaching, by an armistice of three months.

In Italy the military operations were greatly in favor of the French: in consequence of the peace with Spain, the army of the Pyrenees, under Kellerman, marched to the Apennines, and soon obtained possession of all the summits of the Alps, from the Lake of Geneva, to the country of Nice. General Scherer, on November 22, attacked the Austrians in the valley of Loano, and after a battle, which lasted from six o'clock in the morning until five in the afternoon, they were defeated, having eight thousand men killed or made prisoners; and were obliged to retreat to Garesio; the battle was renewed next morning at break of day, when the Austrians were again routed, and fled with confused precipitation to Savence, and Bagniano. General De Vins immediately summoned the senate of Genoa to deliver up the fortress of Savona, which was refused: the Austrians having retired to Acqui, the French seized upon Pictre, Loana, Finale, and Vado, as well as the immense magazines deposited at Savona. The Austrian army in Italy being thus defeated, the emperor sent a reinforcement of twenty-five thousand men; and the King of Sardinia six thousand, under General Colli, to defend the Apennines, which beginning now to be covered with snow, put a termination for the present to the hostile clangor of arms, and the effusion of blood.

Ever since the evacuation of Toulon, the English flag waved triumphant in the Mediterranean, and carried terror into all the petty states of Italy, and Genoa was blockaded. The French had fitted out a fleet of fifteen sail of the line, and several frigates, in the port of Toulon, and a considerable army was embarked on board this fleet, which sailed about the beginning of March. Vice-admiral Hotham having been apprised of this circumstance, and that the fleet had been seen off the Isle of Marguerette, left Leghorn Road, in pursuit of it, with fourteen sail of the line, four frigates, and four armed vessels. The British admiral steered his course to the coast of Corsica, and soon came in sight of the French navy. As it was not the intention of the French to risk an engagement, they endeavored to avoid the English; a signal was made by admiral Hotham for a general chase, in the course of which the weather being windy

and squally, one of the enemy's line of battle ships was observed to have lost the top-masts, on which the Inconstant, the repeating frigate to the commander in chief, attacked the dismasted ship, until the arrival of the Agamemnon, of 64 guns, commanded by Captain NELSON, a name immortal in the naval annals of Great Britain; and this brave officer reduced the enemy's ship to a mere wreck, but he was twice recalled by signal from the Britannia, as several of the French ships advanced to her assistance, and succeeded in taking her in tow: a partial engagement soon took place, in the course of which the British van ships, the Illustrious, and the Courageux, suffered greatly: after a vigorous and well supported attack, the French were obliged to abandon the Ca Ira, of 80 guns; and the Censeur of 74, to the English. The loss of the French in this action was near four hundred men; while the English lost only seventy-five killed, and two hundred and eighty wounded.

On July 17, a flying squadron, consisting of the Agamemnon, Meleager, Ariadne, Moselle, and Mutine cutter, commanded by Captain Nelson, was chased into St. Fiorenzo Bay, by twenty-three sail of French ships. Admiral Hotham immediately put to sea, and a signal was hoisted for a general chase; upon coming up with the enemy, a partial action ensued, when the Alcide, a French 74 gun ship, struck, but in about half an hour caught fire, and was consumed. Captain Nelson, with a detachment of the Mediterranean fleet, consisting of six ships, proceeded to the bays of Alassio and Languelia, in the neighbourhood of Vado, where Capt. Nelson cut out nine ships belonging to the French in the most gallant manner. As a counter-balance to this success, the French Admiral Richery, captured the Censeur which had been taken by the English, as also a part of the Mediterranean convoy, and immediately sailed with his prizes to Cadiz.

Vice-admiral Cornwallis being cruising with a fleet of eight ships, including frigates, he descried the enemy's fleet, of thirteen sail of the line, and fourteen frigates, near the Penmarks: on June 27, some of the large French ships made a slight fire successively on the English; the French admiral, although he had a fleet greatly superior to the British, yet was afraid to ven-

ture an engagement, but tacked about and steered away.

The conquest of Holland by the French, had occasioned a provisional government, in consequence of the flight of the Stadtholder, which concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with the republic of France, on May 15, 1795. The necessary effect of this treaty was to place the United Provinces in a state of hostility with Great Britain: the English ministry, as soon as this event had taken place, adopted vigorous measures against the new ally of France; his Majesty issued a proclamation, ordering all Dutch vessels in the ports of Great Britain to be stopped; and five men of war, nine India ships, and sixty sail of merchant craft, were seized upon. This proclamation was followed by an order in council for general reprisals against the goods, ships, and subjects of the United States. The Dutch possessions in India were speedily made the object of attack; the government of Madras was immediately on the alert; Rear-admiral Rainier, and Colonel Stuart, sailed with a small armament against Ceylon, an island of considerable commercial importance; one of the ships, the Diomede, was lost by striking on a rock. The first detachment of troops landed at the White Rocks, on August 3, and was soon followed by the residue of the forces; when batteries were erected against the fort of Trincomale, and the garrison was summoned to surrender, when Major Formbauer, the commander, agreed to a capitulation, by the articles of which the troops forming the garrison, amounting to six hundred men, were made prisoners of war. The commandant of Ostenburgh, followed the example of Major Formbaur, and that place was delivered up. Several other forts surrendered. But the most important acquisition was that of the island of Manar, which was taken by Captain Barbut. Malacca was also captured by Captain Newcome, and Major Browne, on August 17; and, in a very short time, all the Dutch settlements on the vast continent of India, were subjected to the authority of his Britannic Majesty.

The cabinet of St. James's, with pre-eminent wisdom, projected a plan for securing the flourishing colony of the Cape of Good Hope from falling into the hands of the French; to facilitate this design, an expedition for

obtaining possession of that settlement was fitted out, and Sir George Keith Elphinstone, and Sir Alured Clarke, were appointed to the command. The troops were landed at Simon's-Town, which was taken possession of, and General Craig marched against the enemy, who were posted in great strength at Mysenberg; in this attempt the general was unsuccessful; the enemy had meditated an attempt upon Craig's forces, when reinforcements having arrived of British troops, the Dutch relinquished their design; the conquest of the Cape followed; a capitulation was entered into with the Governor Kuyaken, by which the Cape, and its dependencies, were surrendered to his Britannic Majesty.

The island of Guadaloupe still remained under the despotic influence of the republican commissioner Victor Hugues. Not satisfied with the possession of that island, he procured an attack to be made on the island of Grenada, which had recently been taken from the French; as also on St. Vincent, where a dreadful insurrection of the blacks took place: St. Lucia was also retaken, and the English General Stuart defeated. Thus while the British flag waved proudly triumphant in the East, the deep policy and cunning of one man, occasioned various unpleasing reverses of fortune to take place in the West Indies; yet those reverses were not to be placed in comparison with the glory which the British arms had acquired in the vast and opulent regions of the East.

CHAP. XVI.

Exchange of the Princess Royal of France. New Constitution formed by the Convention. Proceedings of the British Parliament.

AFTER the execution of Louis XVI. the most inhuman line of conduct was pursued with respect to that young prince, who was heir apparent to the crown of France

and who, by his faithful subjects, scattered throughout Europe, was denominated Louis XVII. Prince Louis the Dauphin was destined to undergo sufferings more horrible than those of his father. The diabolical policy of the republicans was to drive from the mind of the young prince, every remembrance of his former splendor of situation, and of his high rank in society. Young Louis Capet, as he was insolently denominated, was placed with one of the lowest wretches existing in the republic, the lowest of the low, the basest of the base, the very fungus and excrescence of the human species, Simon, a shoe-maker: domesticated under the roof of this wretch, and ordered to learn the art and mystery of cordwaining; he was carefully initiated into all species of debaucheries, and taught to drink powerfully of inebriating liquors; no words ever escaped the lips of those around him but oaths, which were drawn from the very abyss of hell. Thus was this amiable and excellent young prince *involuntarily* and *forcibly* led into habits which tended to drown his reason, destroy the energy of his mind, and enfeeble and emaciate his body. Heaven in mercy released him ere long from this degraded state of suffering, and his gentle spirit ascended to the bosom of his God.

The young dauphin left behind him a sister, endowed with every accomplishment and virtue; this fair and royal orphan had seen all her relations torn from her; her father, mother, and aunt, had perished on the scaffold; her uncles where fugitives in foreign lands; and her brother was no more. The new governors of France, who had acted with a laudable spirit of moderation, viewed this last remaining descendant of Louis XVI. with an eye of pity and compassion; a treaty was set on foot for her liberation, and a decree was passed, that as soon as the minister of war, and deputies, delivered up by Dumouriez, or who by other means had fallen into the hands of the allies, should be restored, the daughter of Louis XVI. should be placed in the hands of commissioners appointed by the Emperor of Germany to receive her. After a length of time spent in negociating, the princess royal was conveyed to Basle, and on December 25, 1795, she was delivered up to her friends; and in return the following persons were exchanged for her:

Bournonville, Camus, Bancal, Quinelle, Lamarque, Drouet, the postmaster-general of Varennes; Simonville, and Maret. The princess was received with the most distinguished honors at the court of Vienna, and the Archduke Charles made her an offer of his hand; but in consequence of a previous engagement, she declined this splendid honor, and was married to the Duke of Angouleme, son of the Count D'Artois, now Louis XVIII.

When the convention by its energetic exertions had restored peace and security, its labours were directed to the formation of a grand system of legislature; a new constitution. Various propositions were offered for preserving the republican principle in vigor; a commission of eleven members, appointed to methodise the different heads of the constitution, offered a *corps conservative* of the constitution, which was rejected. In the discussion on this subject many members objected even to the altering or amending the constitution now existing; one member moved, that the punishment of death might be incurred by any who should propose the least change in the constitution before the lapse of fifty years; this proposition was treated with indignant contempt: after a considerable degree of controversy, the committee of constitution presented to the convention for its approbation, each article as it was drawn up. The draft of the constitution being completed, it was read to a full convention, with crouded tribunes; when *Boissy D'Anglais*, the reporter of the committee, stated, that two-thirds of the legislative body should be members of the convention, and one third of members chosen by the electoral assemblies; to this very great opposition was made; it was observed, that such a measure would expose the convention to degradation in the eyes of the people, as also to the charge of arrogating to itself a right, which belonged only to the primary assemblies; that an abandonment of principle had, more than once, plunged the country into distress, and liberty into danger; the proposition was, however, agreed to, and D'Anglais retired to consult with the committee how the election of two-thirds was to be made; in withdrawing he thus addressed his coadjutors:

"Let us be all, from this moment, as men under bond to the nation, whose liberty it is our wish to establish;

against royalty, which has sworn our common destruction, without regard to the shades of difference among us. Let those, who remaining here shall become the guardians of the constitution, be the defenders of their brothers, who are so fortunate as to taste the fruits of repose; and before they separate, let them all join in a festival of reconciliation."

The proposed constitution was dispersed through the republic, accompanied by the following proclamation:

"MEN OF FRANCE,

"After long storms, you are about to decide upon your fate, by pronouncing upon your constitution. Long has the country loudly called for a free government, the wisdom of whose principles should be the guarantee of its duration.

"Have your representatives attained this end? They think they have; they have, at least, desired to attain it. Citizens, who love order and tranquillity, accept the pledge of it; it consists in the government that is offered to you; that alone, by giving us peace, can restore prosperity and plenty.

"Men of France, citizens of all professions, of all opinions, rally for the interest of the country; above all, do not make retrograde steps to the point from which you sat out. Ages have passed within six years; and though the people may be tired with revolution, they are not tired of liberty. You suffer, it is true, but it is not by making fresh revolutions, it is by compleating that which is begun that you will terminate your miseries.

"No, you will not impute to the republic, which hitherto has not been organised, the ills which cannot be reproduced under a government free without licentiousness, and strong without despotism.

"Sovereign people, hear the voice of your representatives. The project of the social compact which they offer to you was dictated by the desire of your happiness; it is for you to attach your destiny to it. Consult your interest and your glory, and the country is saved."

On September 23, the reporter of the committee of minutes, announced to the convention, that the majority of voters in the primary assemblies, and the decrees for

the election of the two-thirds; that the constitution was, therefore, declared the fundamental law of the republic, as also that the decrees of re-election were laws of the republic; when these decrees were passed, the representatives, and the people in the galleries, stood up with their hats off, and the place resounded with acclamations of, *Vive la Republique! Vive la Convention! Vive la Constitution!*

Of this celebrated work of legislation, consisting of 377 articles, the following is a brief analysis:

New Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man, and of a Citizen. The French people proclaim, in the presence of the Supreme Being, the following declaration of the rights and duties of Man, and of a Citizen. The Declaration of Rights stated: That the rights of man in society are liberty, equality, security, and property; that the law is the general will expressed by the majority, either of the citizens, or their representatives; that no person can be cited, accused, arrested, or detained, but in the cases determined by the law, and according to the forms it has prescribed; those who solicit, sign, execute, or cause to be executed, arbitrary acts, are culpable, and ought to be proscribed; all rigor, not necessary, to secure the person of a man under charge, ought to be severely repressed by the law; no man can be judged until he has been heard, or legally summoned; all the treatment that aggravates the punishment determined by the law, is a crime; the sovereignity resides essentially in the universality of the citizens; no individual, and no partial union of citizens, can arrogate the sovereignty; public functions cannot become the property of those who exercise them.

All the duties of man, and a citizen, spring from these two principles, engraved by nature in every heart, "Do not to another that which you would not another should do to you;" "Do constantly to others the good you would receive from them." No man is a good citizen, if he is not a good son, a good father, a good brother, a good friend, a good husband. No man is a good man, if he is not frankly and religiously an observer of the laws. Upon the maintenance of property rests the cultivation of the earth, all produce, all means of labor, and all social order.

The French republic is one and indivisible. France is divided into departments, each department into cantons, each canton into communes. The French colonies are integrant parts of the republic, subject to the same constitutional law, and divided into departments. Every man born and resident in France, who being aged twenty-one, who has inscribed his name on the civic register of his canton, and who has lived one year on the territory of the republic, and who pays a direct contribution, real or personal, is a French citizen.

Frenchmen who have made one or more campaigns for the establishment of the republic, are citizens without any condition of contribution.

A foreigner becomes a French citizen when, after having attained the age of twenty-one years, and having declared his intention of settling in France, he has resided there for seven years following, provided he pays a direct contribution, and moreover possesses a real property, or an establishment in agriculture or commerce, or has married a French woman.

French citizens alone can vote in the primary assemblies, and be called to the functions established by the constitution.

The exercise of the rights of a citizen is lost, 1st. by naturalization in a foreign country; 2d. by affiliation with any foreign corporation, which supposes distinctions of birth, or requires religious vows; 3d. by the acceptance of functions, or of pensions offered by a foreign government; 4th. by condemnation to corporal or infamous punishment.

The exercise of the rights of citizens is suspended, 1st. by a judicial interdict on account of insanity, idiotism, or imbecility; 2d. by a state of bankruptcy, or being an immediate heir, and detaining gratuitously, the whole or part of succession of a bankrupt: 3d. by being a domestic on wages, attending on the person, or serving in the house; 4th. by being under accusation; 5th. by a sentence of contumacy, until that sentence shall be annulled.

The exercise of the rights of citizens is neither lost nor suspended in the two preceding articles, but in cases pronounced upon.

Every citizen who has resided seven years following out of the territory of the republic, without mission of

authorization given in the name of the nation, is reputed a foreigner.

Young men cannot be inscribed on the civic register, unless they prove that they can read and write, and exercise a mechanical profession. The manual operations of agriculture belong to mechanic professions. This article not to operate till the twelfth year of the republic.

The primary assemblies to be composed of citizens domiciliated in the same canton, by a residence of one year. No man to vote by deputy. One primary assembly, at least, for every canton. Primary assemblies constituted provisionally. The legislative body to pronounce on the validity of the operations of the primary assemblies. Every citizen convicted of having sold or bought a suffrage, to be excluded from the primary and commune assemblies, and from all public functions, for twenty years; and for a second offence, for ever.

Each primary assembly to nominate one elector for two hundred citizens, who have a right to vote in the said assembly. Members of the electoral assemblies to be nominated every year; no man to be nominated an elector, unless twenty-five years of age, and possessed of property decidedly and minutely described. The electoral assemblies to meet on April 9, every year, and terminate in one single session of ten days at most. Electoral assemblies not to correspond with each other. Electoral assemblies to choose the members of the legislative body. The legislature alone to pronounce on the validity of the operations of electoral assemblies.

The legislative power to consist of a council of elders, and a council of five hundred. Every ten years the legislative body, according to the statements of population sent to it, determines the number of members of either council, which each department ought to furnish; both councils to be renewed annually by thirds. No man to be a member of the legislative body more than six years following. The legislative body is permanent, but may adjourn itself for stated terms. The functions of president, and secretary, in either councils, not to exceed one month. The two councils not to pronounce a sentence more severe than censure, arrest for eight days, and imprisonment for three. The sittings to be public, and the minutes of proceedings printed. The members

of the legislative body to receive an annual indemnity. A guard of citizens, consisting of one thousand five hundred men, to be placed about the legislative body. The legislative body not to attend any public ceremony, or send any deputation thither.

Every member of the council of five hundred to be thirty years of age, and domiciliated in the republic ten years. The council not to deliberate unless two hundred members be present; this council alone to propose laws. The council of elders to be composed of two hundred and fifty members; every member to be forty years of age at least, married, or a widower, and domiciliated fifteen years; and they are not to deliberate unless one hundred and twenty-six members be present: this council to approve or reject the resolutions of that of five hundred. The resolutions of the council of five hundred, *adopted* by that of the elders, to be called *laws*. The council of elders to send the laws it has adopted within the day to the council of five hundred, and the executive directory. The members of the legislative body not to be examined, accused, or tried at any time, for what they have said or written, in the exercise of their functions.

Each council nominates four messengers of state for its service, to be preceded by two ushers. The publication of the laws and acts of the legislative body to be in the following terms: In the name of the French republic, the directory ordains that the above law, or act of the legislative body, shall be published, executed, and the seal of the republic affixed to it.

The executive power is delegated to a directory of *five members*, nominated by the legislative body: these members not to be under forty years of age; and to have been members, or ministers, of the legislative body. The directory to be partially renewed by the election of a new member every year; none of the members going out to be re-elected till after an interval of five years. The executive directory cannot deliberate if three members are not present; they are to provide for the external and internal security of the republic, according to the laws: in cases of conspiracy against the state, the directory may issue summonses, or warrants of arrest, against persons presumed guilty, but obliged to send them, within two days, before the officer of police, to proceed according to the laws. The directory to nominate the

generals in chief. No member of the directory can go out of the territory of the republic till two years after the cessation of his functions. No member of the directory to absent himself more than five days, without being authorized by the legislative body: the members of the directory not to exercise their functions, unless clothed in their appropriate dress; to have a guard constantly of one hundred and twenty infantry, and one hundred and twenty cavalry, to be paid at the public expence.

In each department to be a central administration, and in each canton one municipal administration at least: the municipal administrations to be subordinate to the administration of the department, and the latter to the ministers. Judicial functions not be exercised either by the legislative body, or the executive power; judges not to interfere in the exercise of the legislative power: justice to be administered gratuitously; the sittings of the tribunals to be public; no judge to be under thirty years of age; a civil tribunal to be for every department, the tribunal to be composed of twenty judges. No person to be detained when arrested, if he can give sufficient bail. Correctional tribunals to be appointed in each department. One jury to declare the crime of the accused, another to try the cause. A public accuser to be appointed. Judges not to propose complex questions to the jury. Tribunals of annulment to be appointed. A high court of justice to be constituted to try accusations admitted by the legislative body, either against its own members, or those of the executive directory.

The public force to consist of a national guard sedentary, and a national guard in activity. No foreign troops to be introduced upon the French territories, without the previous consent of the legislative body.

There are in the republic primary schools where the pupils learn to read, to write, the elements of arithmetic, and those of morality: the public provides only for the expence of the lodging of the instructors appointed for these schools.

There are, in different parts of the republic, schools superior to the primary schools, and to such a number, that there shall be at least one for every two departments.

There is a national institution charged to collect disco-

veries, and to improve the arts and sciences for the whole republic.

The different establishments of public instruction have not, with respect to each other, any connexion of subordination, or administrative correspondence.

Citizens have a right to form particular establishments of education and instruction, as well as free societies, to promote the progress of the sciences of letters and of arts.

There shall be established, to keep alive fraternity among the citizens, and to attach them to the constitution, to their country, and to the laws, national festivals.

War to be decided upon only by a decree of the legislative body.

There exists among the citizens no superiority, but that of public functionaries, and relative to the exercise of their functions.

The law acknowledges neither religious vows, nor any other engagement contrary to the natural rights of man.

No man can be hindered from speaking, writing, printing, and publishing his thoughts. Writings cannot be subject to any censure before their publication. No man can be responsible for what he has written or published, but in cases provided for by the law.

No man can be hindered from exercising the form of worship he has chosen, while he conforms to the laws. No man can be forced to contribute to the expences of any form of worship: the republic pays for none.

There is neither privilege nor right of companies, nor corporation, nor limitation to the freedom of the press, of commerce, and exercise of industry and arts of every kind. Every prohibitory law in this sort, when circumstances render it necessary, is essentially provisional, and has no effect beyond a year at most, unless it be formally renewed.

The law watches particularly the professions which interest public morals, the safety and the health of citizens; but admission to the exercise of these professions cannot be made to depend upon any pecuniary security.

The law ought to provide for the recompence of inven

tors, or for the maintenance of the exclusive property of their discoveries or productions.

The constitution guarantees the inviolability of all property, of a just indemnity for that of which public necessity, legally proved, may require the sacrifice.

The house of every citizen is an inviolable asylum: during the night no one has a right to enter it, except in case of fire, inundation, or a call from within the house. During the day the orders of the constituted authorities may be executed in it. No domiciliary visit can be made but in virtue of a law, and for the person or object expressly stated in the act which orders the visit.

The articles of the constitution were signed by Chenier, the president; Darasay, Souligorac, Bernier, Laureneest, and Deutzel.

A report was made to the convention, on September 24, with respect to the corporation of the Austrian territory on the left of the Rhine, with the French republic, on which the convention pronounced the incorporation by the following decree:

"1. The decrees precedingly enacted for uniting to France the department of Gemappe, Austrian Flanders, Brabant, the territory of Liege, &c. shall be carried into execution without delay.

"2. All the other countries which the house of Austria possessed at the commencement of the war, on the French side of the Rhine, such as Limbourg, Luxembourg, &c. are also incorporated with France, as are likewise those specified in the treaty of peace concluded between the French and Batavian republics.

"3. The French republic accepts also the desire expressed for the union of the cities of Ypres, Namur, Tournay, Ghent, and Mons.

"4. The citizens of these several countries shall enjoy the rights of French citizens, such as they are specified in the constitution.

"5. The national representatives shall divide these countries into departments and cantons.

"6. The territory precedingly united shall instantly appoint their public functionaries.

"7. In those which are about to be united, the public

functionaries shall be provisionally appointed by the national representatives. And

"8. The legislative body shall determine the number of deputies to be sent on mission in these countries."

The spirit of French reform continued to prevail greatly in England, in the metropolis and manufacturing towns; and at the close of the year 1795, a most gross and daring outrage was offered to his Majesty as he was going in state to open the session of parliament: an immense multitude of people assembled in St. James's-park, and in all the streets through which his Majesty passed; the tumult was exceeding great; an air-gun was fired at the state-coach, and a stone was thrown which broke the glass window, and fell at the feet of his Majesty; numerous other insults were offered to the King by the populace. Upon arriving at the house of peers, his Majesty said to the Lord Chancellor, "My lord, I have been fired at." Upon his Majesty's return in his private carriage to Buckingham, or the Queen's house, he was again assailed by the mob, who proceeded to the greatest excesses. Mr. Stockdale, bookseller, in Piccadilly, and several other persons, who had been sworn in constables, were examined at the bar of the house of peers, relative to the circumstances of this alarming insult; when it was ascertained that the person who hurled the stone at the royal carriage was named Kid Wake; consequently he was apprehended, and tried in the court of King's-bench; when, being found guilty, he was sentenced to be imprisoned, and kept to hard labor for five years, in Glocester gaol, and to stand in the pillory at Glocester. Two bills were brought into parliament, and passed, containing some regulations to prevent the recurrence of such a disgraceful scene.

The promulgation of the new constitution of France, and the lenient spirit of its government, afforded an opportunity for Mr. Grey (now Lord Grey), to move an address to his Majesty, for entering into a negociation for peace with the French republic. He observed, that by a late royal message it had been stated, that the government of France was capable of maintaining peace and amity with other nations. He urged a variety of arguments against the continuation of the war, and the expediency of making pacific overtures 1796.

to the republic. Mr. Fox strenuously and eloquently supported the motion; he hoped that the interests of humanity, as well as kings and particular states, would be consulted, and that peace and tranquillity would be re-established, on the broad basis of justice, in answer to the prayers of mankind, who were tired with war, slaughter, and devastation.

The motion of Mr. Grey was energetically opposed by Mr. Pitt, who descanted on the nature of the confidence to which ministers were entitled, observing, that no opportunity of negociation had been rejected by the ministry, but that measures had absolutely been taken, to ascertain the disposition of the enemy, and to pave the way for overtures from either side. He then observed, "If a negociation should be entered into, it is evident, that in order to give it full effect, we should be careful not only to keep up the strict letter of our engagements with our allies, but to be in perfect amity and harmony with them; I have only to say, that acting upon this principle, no regard to the form of government, no difficulty as to the mode of communication, no punctilio of etiquettes, no delicacy as to the first proposition of overtures, shall be found to stand in the way of negociation: I wish it to be known, that if negociation be not speedily entered upon, it is not our fault, the blame must rest on the dispositions of the enemy; if those dispositions should become more moderate, our prospects of that desirable event will be greatly accelerated. But, earnestly as I wish for peace, and confessedly weak as are the means of the enemy for carrying on the war, there has yet been no declaration which can dispose us to give them credit for their moderation with respect to peace. I must at the same time confess, that I know nothing on the subject, but from the communications of the directory, and from a paper which has been circulated with much industry here, and on the continent; this paper is said to contain the terms on which they are willing to hold out the boon of peace to the people of England; if they will renounce all their interests, if they will renounce all their alliances which have been supposed to be connected with the fundamental policy of this country, and the general safety of Europe; if they will sacrifice their good faith, and give up all the acquisitions which have been made by the valor and energy of their

troops, then we are told that, in return, the French nation will honor the people of England with their fraternization; I hope I shall not be told, that I am insincere in my wishes for peace, if I am not forward to accept of a treaty on such terms: there is only one situation which, in my opinion, could induce a minister of this country to bend to so humiliating a necessity, namely, the weakness and timidity of the nation, proclaimed through the medium of parliament, in adopting a motion like the present. If this motion be not adopted, and it is asked, What overtures we are disposed to receive? or, what answer we shall make to any proposition for a negociation? I have only to repeat what I have already declared, that measures have already been set on foot to ascertain the disposition of the enemy, and whatever be the result, nothing shall be wanting on the part of the government of this country, to encourage a disposition to negociate on moderate and equitable terms. I am persuaded, that if we and our allies are not wanting to ourselves, we shall be able to restore peace on reasonable and honorable terms; and that nothing but dishonorable timidity, or undue precipitation, can possibly disappoint us in the attaintment of that object."

Mr. Grey's motion was rejected by a large majority.

CHAP. XVII.

Proceedings of the British Parliament continued. Mr. Sheridan's Motion respecting Count Sombreuil's Letters. Mr. Fox's Motion on the State of the Nation. Address of the Executive Directory to the Council of Ancients. Trial of Stone for High-Treason.

An important conference had taken place in the summer of 1795, between Count Sombreuil, Mr. Windham, the secretary at war, and Sir John Borlase Warren. On April 18, Mr. Sheridan moved, that copies of those letters should be laid before parliament; he remembered, that opposition had before been made by ministers to the

productions of those papers, but as those letters had recently found their way into one of the public prints, he trusted no objection would now be made to those copies being laid before the representatives of the people: a strong opposition was, however, made by the members of administration, and Mr. Sheridan's motion was negatived.

The following were the letters adverted to.

"*On Board the John, Portsmouth Road,*

"SIR, *July* 8, 1795.

"The short stay which I made at London not having permitted me the honor of seeing you more than once; and my sudden departure having prevented me from conversing with you on several points of importance to me, in my present situation, I have sufficient confidence in your sagacity to be convinced, that I shall find such instructions as will serve me for a guide, and enable me to support the responsibility attached to my conduct, as well toward you, as towards the troops under my command.

"A full conviction of the necessity of subordination, joined to a zealous devotion to the cause in which I have embarked, induce me to fly with precipitation at the first signal I receive, and never allow me to urge the smallest objection. I say nothing of the discretion which a government has a right to expect from those it employs; I have long since given sufficient proofs of mine; and I have reason to believe, that they are such as will enable me to obtain, at least, those marks of confidence which are due to my situation.

"I have the honor to observe to you, Sir, that I am going with troops, of whose destination I know nothing but by public report, neither am I acquainted with their means of subsistence; nor, in the smallest degree, with the rules by which I am to regulate my conduct. What will be necessary with regard to ammunition, with which I am not, to my knowledge, provided, and with regard to the support of those with whom I am to act; the means by which I am to carry on my correspondence with you in a distant situation; and from whom I am, in all cases, to receive orders; those are points on which I request you to give me such instructions as will serve as a basis for my conduct.

"I had the honor also to request that you would let me have an officer from the department of inspection. If you send me such a person, pray choose a man who speaks both languages, that he may upon occasion assist me in the translation of your letters, and that your orders may only be known to an officer chosen by government.

"I have the honor to be, with respect,
"Your very humble servant,
"COUNT CHARLES SOMBREUIL."

To Sir John Borlase Warren.

"SIR,

"The letter which I have written to Sir John Warren, will give you every information in my power to afford, information as well on my present situation, as on past events; I will not remind you of the letter which I wrote to you from Portsmouth, as you doubtless feel the force of the remarks which I there made; you must be sensible how much my heart has to suffer in these last moments, independently of the regret which I experience for the fate of my companies; you know what sacrifices an order so prompt obliged me to make.

"I request you, Sir, to be so kind as to give to the bearer, a faithful man, who has never abandoned me, (and whom the losses I have sustained incapacitates me from rewarding,) the sum of five hundred Louis, to be shared with my other servants. This request will not appear indiscreet, as I have lost several government securities to a greater amount.

"I also recommend to you, Sir, the two persons about whom I spoke to you before I left London.

"I have the honor to be,
"SIR,
"Your very humble servant,
"COUNT CHARLES SOMBREUIL."

To Mr. Windham,
Secretary at War.

Upon Mr. Pitt opening his second budget, he expressed his particular satisfaction at the state of Great Britain, compared with that of France; from which (exclaimed this great orator,) it results, that if we are true to ourselves, we may look for the happiest issue of

a contest, undertaken for rescuing this age, and posterity, from all the mischief attending a *dissolution of civil society*.

Mr. Fox, on May 3, commented on a vote which had been passed, for granting two hundred thousand pounds to his Majesty, to enable him to fulfil his engagements to his Sardinian Majesty; he asserted, that there appeared reason to suspect an intention, on the part of the King of Sardinia, to make a separate peace, that consideration he did not wish to discuss; the question was, on what principle England should continue to furnish so large a sum? It was necessary to ascertain whether the proposals, as reported of the King of Sardinia, were made with the consent of this country or not; if it should be stated, that no measures of that nature were to be taken without the acquiescence of Great Britain, it would be requisite to show how far we had it in our power to prevent a separate peace.

Mr. Pitt declared, that the same principle which had hitherto induced the house to grant the sum of 200,000 l. to the King of Sardinia, could be brought forward in defence of the subsidy, but it was at the present moment more incumbent than ever to grant the subsidy. The conduct of his Sardinian Majesty since he had engaged in the war, with respect to England, was perfectly honorable, consistent and exemplary. The King of Sardinia had certainly made proposals, but only for the purpose of ascertaining the claims of France; an armistice had also been proposed by that monarch, but it was with the concurrence of Great Britain. It was also true, that the French had offered to conclude a separate peace with the King of Sardinia, if he would consent to let them retain their conquests, and unite against Great Britain, which offer was treated with contempt. He would, therefore, ask, Whether in such a situation we should be more or less inclined to continue the subsidy? The enemy would not give his Sardinian Majesty better terms if the subsidy was withheld, a conduct directly the reverse might be expected on their part. The grant was accordingly confirmed.

On May 10, Mr. Fox † made his celebrated motion on

† Mr. Fox, soon after the commencement of hostilities with France, published a Letter to his Constituents, stating the reasons of his opposi-

the State of the Nation. After a speech of considerable length, he moved an address to his Majesty, representing that "his faithful commons could no longer dissemble their deliberate and determined opinion, that the distress, difficulty, and peril, to which the country is now subjected, have arisen from the misconduct of the King's ministers; and are likely to subsist, and increase, as long as the same principles, which have hitherto guided those ministers, shall continue to prevail in the council of Great Britain. In this proposed address from the representatives of the people, his Majesty was reminded of the situation of his dominions at the beginning of the war with France; and of the high degree of prosperity his subjects enjoyed under the safeguard of a free constitution: his Majesty's ministers had departed from a mutual and impartial system of policy, in consequence of certain measures of the French government, of which they complained, as injurious and hostile to this country; those measures were such as not to preclude the possibility of adjustment by negociation; and the power which shut up the channel of negociation, must be the real aggressor in the war.

"This misguided policy rendering the war inevitable, appears to have actuated the ministers to a determination to continue it at all hazards; at one period the strength, at another the weakness of the enemy, have been used as motives for continuing the war; the successes, as well as the defeats, of the allies, have contributed only to prolong the contest; and hope and despair, have equally served to involve us still deeper in the horrors of war; and to entail upon us an endless scene of calamities.

"His Majesty's ministers, after an expulsion of the French armies from the territories of Holland, and the Austrian Netherlands, influenced either by arrogance, inflated by ambition, or vain hopes of conquest, which if

tion to the war. The letter was written in a very masterly style, but the arguments were founded upon the idea, that aggression and presumptuous hostility was exercised by the British cabinet; the general principle which pervaded this work was, That the war with France was a war against opinions, which could not be exterminated by force; and that the French nation had a right to settle their form of government, as most agreeable to their ideas, without the interference of any foreign power whatever.

realised, could never compensate to the nation for the blood by which they must be obtained; rejecting, unheard, the overtures of the executive council of France, at a period when circumstances were so eminently favorable for his Majesty and his allies, that there is every reason to suppose that a negociation, commenced at such a juncture, must have terminated in an honorable and advantageous peace.

"We beg leave further to represent to your Majesty, that at subsequent periods your ministers have suffered the most favorable opportunities to escape of obtaining an honorable and advantageous pacification; that from this fatal neglect, the progress of hostilities has only served to establish the evils which might have certainly been avoided by negociation, but which are confirmed by the events of the war.

"That his Majesty's faithful commons heard with the sincerest satisfaction his Majesty's most gracious message of the 8th of December, wherein his Majesty acquaints them, that the crisis which was depending at the commencement of the present session, has led to such an order of things as would induce his Majesty to meet any disposition to negociation on the part of the enemy, with an earnest desire to give it the fullest and speediest effect; and to conclude a treaty of peace whenever it could be effected, on just and suitable terms, for himself and his allies.

"With equal surprise and concern they have observed, when a fair and open conduct was so peculiarly incumbent on his Majesty's ministers, considering the prejudices and suspicions which their previous conduct must have excited in the minds of the French, that instead of acting in that open and manly manner which became the wisdom, the character, and the dignity of the British nation, they adopted a mode of proceeding calculated rather to excite suspicion, than to inspire confidence in the enemy.

"That it is with pain we reflect, that the alacrity of his Majesty's ministers, in apparently breaking off this negociation, as well as the strange and unusual manner in which it was announced to the ministers of the various powers in Europe, affords a very unfavorable comment on their reluctance in entering upon it; and is calculated

to make the most injurious impression, respecting their sincerity, on the people of France.

"On a review of so many instances of gross and flagrant misconduct, proceeding from the same pernicious principles, and directed, with incorrigible obstinacy, to the same mischievous ends, we deem ourselves bound, in duty to his Majesty, and to our constituents, to declare, that we see no rational hope of redeeming the affairs of the kingdom, but by the adopting of a system radically and fundamentally different from that which has produced our present calamities.

"Unless his Majesty's ministers shall, from a conviction of past errors, appear inclined to regulate their conduct upon such a system, we can neither give any credit to the sincerity of their professions of a wish for peace, nor repose any confidence in them for conducting a negociation to a prosperous issue. Odious as they are to an enemy, who wish still to believe them secretly to cherish those unprincipled and chimerical projects which they have been compelled in public to disavow, contemptible in the eyes of all Europe: from the display of insincerity which has marked their conduct, our only hope rests on his Majesty's royal wisdom, and unquestioned affection for his people, that he will be graciously pleased to adopt maxims of policy more suited to the circumstances of the times, than those by which his Majesty's ministers appear to have been governed; and to direct his servants to take measures, which, by differing essentially, as well in their tendency as in the principle upon which they are founded, from those which have hitherto marked their conduct, may give this country some reasonable hope, at no very distant period, of the establishment of a peace, suitable to the interests of Great Britain, and likely to preserve the tranquillity of Europe."

Mr. Fox's motion, after a long and very animated debate, was rejected by a very considerable majority.

On the same day, the Earl of Guildford made a similar motion in the house of peers, which met with a similar fate.

The parliament was dissolved on May the 26th.

The new executive directory entered upon its functions by sending the following message to the council of ancients:

"Citizen Legislators,

"The enemies of France have spoken of peace, but it was to relax our preparations, while they themselves redoubled their efforts for continuing the war; they wish to weaken the courage of our defenders, by lulling them with the hopes of approaching peace, which they themselves do not cease to elude by the most evasive forms, and the most frivolous pretexts. This perfidy on their part is not new; and the reports which they have effected to inculcate on this subject since the commencement of hostilities, have always been believed by the foreign faction which they maintain among us; but these manœuvres have never been countenanced by the executive directory, who, in offering peace to the coalesced powers, on conditions as moderate as are consistent with the national dignity, have neglected nothing for assuring new triumphs to the republican arms.

"The French should know, that they can never have peace with their enemies, till they shall have rendered it impossible for them to pursue their disastrous projects: this epoch is not far off; it must crown a vigorous campaign; and we have reason to think, that which is about to be opened, will yield in nothing to that of the third year.

"The government already acquires strength, and the hopes of the enemies of the interior, of a disagreement between the legislative body and the directory, daily disappears; the circulation of provisions begins to be re-established; the young citizens are desirous of rejoining their colors; the general activity continues to second the salutary and decisive measure of the forced loan, the certainty, in short, of seeing all the factious punished, whether their royalism be open or concealed, whether they dissemble it under the last forms of anarchy, every thing announces, that if we are forced by our implacable enemies to cover still their bloody plains with our soldiers, it will be to gain new laurels; to enjoy henceforward the unalterable repose that is assured by the constitution, sworn to by all Frenchmen; and the return of morality and justice, the love of labor and economy.

"Citizen Legislators, you are aware that what renders the service so painful in the present moment, notwith-

standing the prodigious resources which are yet to be found in the republic, is the absence of representative signs of exchange, swallowed up by that avarice which renders it impossible to provide the necessary supplies for the armies.

"We must devise some substitute, and the directory can perceive no other except that of raising articles in kind, at least those which are at present most necessary and indispensable, such as horses for carriages, and for the use of cavalry.

"The principal cause of the ill success of the last campaign was the deficiency of the means of conveyance, and the superiority of our enemies' cavalry; the evil increased every day; and we are obliged to tell you, Citizens Legislators, that if there is not taken, in this respect, a measure prompt and efficacious, we must expect defeats. The directory request that you will authorize it to raise the thirtieth horse in every part of the republic: experience assures the success of this measure, all others will only have doubtful consequences flow, attended with much expence, and the sending out a prodigious quantity of specie. The directory is not determined to make to the legislative body the proposition of an extraordinary levy of horses, till after the subject has been long considered, and it shall be sensible that there exists no other means of assuring the service: this levy shall be made by the administrative bodies; the legislative body may itself state the mode of the execution, or leave it to the directory, who will follow the most economical, and the least vexatious, to the citizens: whatever decision you may make in this respect, circumstances require that this measure may not be deferred.

"Citizens Legislators, the directory invites the council to take the object of its demand into the most serious, and the most prompt consideration.

"REUBELL, President."

By the above important document, it appears that the national finances of France were in a very embarrassed state. The directory sent a message to the council of five hundred, that the plates for the fabrication of *assignats* would be destroyed; and also 800 millions of assignats, on the Place Vendome; on the day appointed, all the puncheons, matrices, and instruments, were melted

down in a large furnace, erected for the purpose. A plan of a National Bank, similar to those of Amsterdam, London, and Venice, was adopted.

The new government was equally anxious to inspire a hatred of royalty. On January 21, the anniversary of the execution of Louis XVI. was celebrated with great pomp; the procession was to the *Champ de Mars*, where a monument in honor of the armies had been erected, near the altar of the country; the directory, and all the public functionaries, took the oath of fidelity to the republic, and of hatred to royalty; the army in the environs of Paris, consisting of 12,000 men, assisted at the ceremony. At noon, all the constituted authorities assembled round a colossal statue, resembling that of Liberty, but whose attributes were analogous to that of Hercules; the directory presided in a grand *costume*; the patriotic airs of the *Marseillois*, a hymn by Lebrun, "*Ca ira*," and other pieces, were sung; Reubell, the president of the directory, delivered an oration appropriate to the occasion.

The spirit of party in England was greatly exhibited at this time. Two bills had been brought into the English parliament, (in consequence of the outrage committed on his Majesty,) by Lord Grenville, which were viewed by some persons as infringing upon the liberty of speech, and were contemptuously denominated, *The Gagging Bills*. The design of those bills was to prevent the meeting of persons with a seditious design, and had an evident reference to the meetings in Copenhagen-fields, &c. The Whig Club held a meeting at the Shakespear-tavern, Mr. Fox in the chair, when a declaration was agreed to, and directed to be published, as the "Declaration of the Whig Club," calling upon their fellow-subjects to associate, in order to obtain a repeal of these penal laws.

William Stone, a coal-merchant, was tried in the court of King's-bench, for conspiring with his brother, Mr. John Hurford Stone, and the Rev. William Jackson, to give information to the French government in what quarter they might be most likely to succeed in a projected invasion of his Majesty's dominions. Hurford Stone resided in Paris, and Jackson had come over to England to examine whether England or Ireland was most vulnerable. It was contended on the part of the prosecu-

tion, that Mr. W. Stone had forwarded this scheme of invasion: on the part of the prisoner it was urged, that the introduction of Mr. Jackson to W. Stone, had no connexion with political affairs, but to a plan of a smuggling nature; and that Jackson not finding the encouragement he expected from Mr. Stone, went to Ireland, to carry on his treasonable practices. The jury acquitted Mr. Stone; but the guilt of Mr. Jackson was unequivocally demonstrated in the course of the trial.

CHAP. XVIII.

Defeat of the Chouans. Dutch Convention. Proclamation to the Citizens of the Netherlands. Negociation for Peace. Address of the French Directory to the Armies.

AFTER the defeat of the Vendean army, and of Charette, his brave companion in arms, the hero Stofflet, still continued to harass the French with his band of Chouans and Vendeans; for some time they baffled every effort of the republican armies to subdue them, but in February, 1796, they were unfortunately totally routed, and Stofflet † was taken, and shot on February 25; a number of the chiefs were killed or taken, and eight of the Vendean generals submitted to the republican government.

The dominions of the *ci-devant* Stadtholder were now organised according to the plan of government at Paris; a national convention was established, which the States

† STOFFLET was born at Luneville, in the department of La Marthe, in 1752. He was so highly esteemed by his comrades in arms, as to be called, "The Hope of the Party." He it was who gave the first signal for the war. In person he was very athletic; his manners were not the most polished, but they were well suited for the brave men he commanded, who were obliged to wander about like the savages of the desert, to hide themselves in woods and caverns, and submit to a thousand privations. He was compared by the republicans to a German game-keeper, as he led his men to battle, as the game-keeper does his dogs to the chase of the boar. He died with great fortitude.

General ordered to be proclaimed by sound of trumpet. The ceremony of the opening of the new constituted authority was very splendid. The deputies were escorted by the national guards to the hall of the convention, where the commission was opened; the assembly of the States General then declared that its functions were at an end, and dissolved itself: Citizen Peter Paulus, was elected the first president of the convention; all the Swiss troops in the Dutch service were dismissed, and marched from the Hague to Breda, on their return home through France. The Dutch convention published the following address to the citizens of the Netherlands:

"The unjust and destructive war, in which we have been involved by the British ministry, cannot but attract our whole attention. It is the first object of our solicitude, that by your courage and prudence in the conduct of it, we may procure an honorable peace, firmly establish our freedom, and maintain the independence of our state and the glory of our ancestors. Our navy, under Divine Providence, is the natural and only means to set bounds to the immeasurable insolence of the British ministry, and to defend our country against their treacherous conduct and cruel treatment. To this object the endeavors of the best patriots have been uniformly directed since the time when our heavy chains were broken by the assistance of our French brethren; since the day when the Stadtholder left the Batavian shores; the day when we began to breathe a free air, and were at liberty to exert ourselves for the improvement of the great sources of our prosperity; our trade, our fisheries, our navigation, our colonies, and our manufactures. By their navy, fellow citizens, did our ancestors become great; the Batavian flag was known, feared, and honored in each of the four quarters of the world: under our late government, it was insulted, and became the ridicule of nations; it is, therefore, our first duty to restore our marine.

"Let the people, therefore, be called together in all the towns and villages of the Netherlands; let the example of Haerlem be proposed to them; that town so zealous for liberty, that it has already raised two hundred young men for the navy; let all the constituted authorities remind the Batavian youth, that their country looks

up to them for defence; they will not be deaf to the call; the time of oppression is past. The fleet of the republic is under the command of true patriots, who do not consider their comrades as slaves, but as fellow citizens. The attention of the representatives of the people will be continually directed to provide for the wants of the mariner; and they will consider the rewarding of heroism and faithful services, as the most pleasing part of their great labors: let, therefore, fathers exhort their sons, sisters, their brothers; and the people in general, the youth of the country, to acts of heroism, and to engage in the naval service, to maintain the honor of the Batavian flag, and to defend their native land.

"PETER LEONARD VAN DE KASTEELE,†
"President."

Mr. Pitt had announced in parliament, that measures were in agitation, for ascertaining the real disposition of the French directory on the important question of peace or war. The Right Honorable William Wickham was, at this time, the British Plenipotentiary to the Cantons of Switzerland; he was authorized by the court of St. James's, to sound M. Barthelemy, the French Ambassador to the Helvetic body, as to the disposition of France with respect to a general pacification; he, therefore, requested his answer to the following questions:

1. Is there the disposition in France to open a negociation with his Majesty, and his allies, for the re-establishment of a general peace, upon just and suitable terms, by sending, for that purpose, ministers to a congress at such a place as may hereafter be appointed?

2. Would there be the disposition to communicate to the undersigned, the general grounds of a pacification, such as France would be willing to propose, in order that his Majesty, and his allies, might thereupon examine, in concert, whether they are such as might serve as the foundation for a negociation for peace?

3. Or would there be a desire to propose any other way whatever, for arriving at the same end, that of a general pacification?

To this note of Mr. Wickham, M. Barthelemy replied on March 26, 1796; he stated the ardent desire of the

† PETER PAULUS died a short time after being elected President.

directory to procure a just, honorable, and solid peace; but that there existed a doubt as to the sincerity of the pacific intentions of the English court: he said. "If England sought for peace with good faith, would she propose a congress, the necessary result of which must be to render all negociation endless? Whatever might be the object the British government had in view, the directory being charged by the constitution with the execution of the laws, could neither make, nor listen to any proposal that would be contrary to them; the constitutional act does not permit it to consent to any alienation of that which, according to the existing laws, constitutes the territory of the republic. With respect to the countries occupied by the French armies, and which had not been united to France, they, as well as other interests, political and commercial, might become the subject of a negociation, which would present the means of proving how desirous it was to attain speedily to a happy pacification.

In consequence of this correspondence, the following note was issued from the British cabinet:

"The court of London has received from its minister in Switzerland, the answer made to the questions which he had been charged to address to M. Barthelemy, in respect to the opening of a negociation for the re-establishment of general tranquillity.

"This court has seen, with regret, how far the tone and spirit of that answer, the nature and extent of the demands it contains, and the manner of announcing them, are remote from any disposition for peace.

"The inadmissible pretension is there avowed, of appropriating to France all that the laws actually existing there, have comprised under the denomination of French territory. To a demand such as this, is added an express declaration, that no proposal contrary to it, will be made, or even listened to; and this under the pretence of an internal regulation, the provisions of which are wholly foreign to all other nations.

"While these dispositions shall be persisted in, nothing is left for the King but to prosecute a war, equally just and necessary.

"Whenever his enemies shall manifest more pacific sentiments, his Majesty will at all times be eager to con-

cur in them, by binding himself, in concert with his allies, to all such measures as shall be best calculated to re-establish general tranquillity, on conditions just, honorable, and permanent; either by the establishment of a congress, which has been so often, and so happily the means of restoring peace to Europe; or by a preliminary discussion of the principles which may be proposed on either side, as a foundation of a general pacification; or, lastly, by an impartial examination of any other way which may be pointed out to him, for arriving at the same salutary end.

Downing-street, April 10 1796.

The directory of France now deemed it requisite to publish an animated address to the armies in the following energetic language:

"Defenders of the country, the moment approaches when you are again to take up your victorious arms; the moment approaches when you are to quit a repose to which you consented in the hope alone, that it would lead to an honorable peace; but the seas of blood which have flowed have not yet satiated the rage of your enemies. They imagine that we are about to demand of them, as cowards, a peace, which we have offered them as generous enemies: let them conceive these unworthy expectations, we will not be surprised, they have never combated for liberty; but what they cannot be ignorant of is, that the brave armies with which they again wish to try their strength, are the same by which they have been so often subdued. No; they have not forgotten the prodigies of French valor; they still recollect with terror, both the redoubts of Gemappe, the plains of Fleurus, and the frozen rivers of Holland; they recollect that the Alps and the Pyrenees have opposed to you but feeble barriers; and that the peninsula of Quiberon become the tomb of all the parricidal slaves, which, in the hope of subjecting you, to the yoke of a master, dared to set their feet on the soil of the republic. If they could have forgotten all this, you will bring it to their recollection by blows still more terrible; you will teach them finally that nothing can resist the efforts of a great nation which is determined to be free.

"Brave warriors, you have afforded the example of a disinterestedness which cannot exist, unless among

republicans; oftentimes, in the midst of the greatest scarcity of provisions, of an almost absolute want of the most indispensable objects, you have displayed that heroical patience which, joined to your impetuous valor, so eminently distinguishes you, and will signalise you to all nations, and to the eyes of posterity. Republican soldiers, you will preserve this great character: and at the moment when your situation has been ameliorated, when, with an unanimous voice, the representatives of the nation have taken measures to provide effectually for your wants, you will redouble also your vigor and courage, to put an end to a war which can be terminated by new victories alone.

"In vain has the French government manifested to all the powers which wage war against France, a sincere wish to restore, at length, the repose of exhausted Europe; it had in vain made to them the most just and moderate propositions; nothing has been capable of removing their deplorable blindness. Yes, brave warriors, we must still have victories, and it is your energy alone, that can put a stop to this devastating scourge. Prepare, therefore, for a last effort, and let it be decisive; let every thing yield to, let every thing be dissipated by your phalanxes; let the new flags of your enemies, carried off by your triumphant bands, form, with the preceding ones, the trophy with which, in the name of France, always great in her misfortunes, always just in her prosperity, the equitable peace you will give to the world will be proclaimed.

"And you, generous defenders, who shall have cemented that peace with your blood, you will soon return to the bosom of your families, among your fellow-citizens, to enjoy your glory; terrible still in your repose, to all the enemies of the republic.

"Letourneur, President."

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

CHAP. XIX.

Opening of the Campaign. Defeat of the Allies in Italy. Defeat of the Austrians on the Rhine. Manifesto of the Batavian National Assembly.

THE commencement of the year 1796, found many nations of Europe still involved in that sanguinary war which, springing from the French revolution, had shed its baneful influence over mankind. The campaign opened in Italy in a manner highly auspicious to the French arms. On April 21, Bion read the following message from the executive directory:

"Citizen Legislators, we hasten to announce to you, that the army of Italy has just opened the campaign by a signal victory: two thousand Austrians killed; and two thousand, of whom sixty are officers, taken prisoners; many flags taken; several important posts captured, more especially that of Caro, and the heights of Carcaro, where the head quarters of our army are now established; such are the consequences of that glorious day; it is the Austrian army of Lombardy, commanded by General Beaulieu in person, that has been thus defeated. We have reason to hope that the Piedmontese will not make much resistance; and that we shall soon have to announce to you new victories. The immediate one is due to the skilful dispositions of the commander in chief, Bonaparte, wonderfully seconded by Generals Massena, Laharpe, and Savona."

This battle of Montenmotte was only the prelude to another most grand and spendid victory. General Bonaparte removed his head quarters to Carcaro, at the same time ordering General Laharpe to remove his to Sofello, to menace the eight battalions of the Austro-Sardinian army, in that city, and to march the next day, by a rapid and secret course, to the city of Caro: General Massena marched with his division to the heights of Dego; Augereau was in the plains of Carcaro; and Joubert, with the first brigade of infantry, occupied the interesting position of Saint Marguerite.

On April 21, at break of day, General Augereau forced

the passes of Milessimo; while Menard and Joubert drove the enemy from all the neighbouring positions, surrounding, by a bold and prompt manœuvre, a corps of 1300 Austrian grenadiers, commanded by General Proveyra, who retired to the summit of the mountains of Cossaria, and intrenched himself in the ruins of an old castle; Augereau advanced his artillery, and cannonaded him for several hours; General Bonaparte summoned him to surrender; Augereau advanced with four columns to the castle of Cossaria, where Joubert had already entered the trenches with seven men, but being wounded, and thrown from his horse, and his men conceiving he was killed, the ardor of this advancing party was damped. The second column, commanded by General Pance, marched in great silence, with arms on the shoulder, when he was killed at the foot of the enemy's intrenchments; the third column, under General Quenin, was equally disconcerted in its march, a ball having killed that officer.

On the 25th, at day-break, the Austrian and Sardinian army, and the French army, were in sight of each other; the left of the French army, commanded by General Augereau, blockaded Proveyra, while several of the allied regiments attempted to penetrate the centre, under the command of Bonaparte, Menard vigorously repulsed them; and Massena attacked the left wing of the allies, which occupied the village of Dego, the French troops pushed on the road leading from Dego to Spires; Laharpe and Cervose attacked the allies, while General Boyerd cut off their retreat; the allies were surrounded on all sides, and suffered great slaughter: General Proveyra, with his troops, in Cossaria, surrendered prisoners of war: the allied army took to flight, and was pursued by General Laharpe, with four squadrons of cavalry.

In this victorious engagement the French took between seven and nine thousand prisoners, amongst whom were a lieutenant-general, between twenty and thirty colonels, and almost the whole of the following regiment; three companies of Croates, a battalion of Pelegrini, Stein, Vichem, Schroeder, Tentach, four companies of artillery, several superior officers of engineers in the service of the emperor, and the regiments of Montsearet of the marine, of Suze, and four companies of the grena-

diers in the service of the King of Sardinia; twenty-two pieces of cannon, with cassons, &c. and fifteen stand of colors. The allies had in this memorable battle of Milessimo, near two thousand five hundred men killed, amongst whom was the aid-du-camp to the King of Sardinia.

After this grand victory, General Beaulieu, the Austrian commander, attacked the village of Dego, and captured it, upon which Massena was directed to commence the attack, but was repulsed three different times; Bonaparte marched to his relief, and found General Caussee rallying the troops, charging the Austrians, and about to fall upon them with the bayonet, when he was mortally wounded; General Lances again rallied the troops, and attacked with decisive success. The loss of the enemy was near two thousand men, fourteen hundred of whom were made prisoners. General Rusca, obtained possession of the important post of St. Jean, which commands the valley of Bormida; he took two pieces of cannon, and a hundred prisoners: General Serrurier also took possession of the heights of Batesolo, of Baguasco, and of Ponta Nocetto, he also took sixty-one prisoners; and General Augereau occupied the redoubts of Matezimo, which the enemy had evacuated, by which a communication was opened with the valley of Tenaro, and General Serrurier's division.

Eight thousand Piedmontese defended the above redoubts; the columns which attacked them were led on by Generals Beyrand and Joubert. Serrurier now entered the town of Ceva, and invested the citadel. The Piedmontese army, after sustaining a loss of three hundred men, encamped at the confluence of the Cursaylia, and Tenaro; here it was attacked by General Serrurier, who passed a bridge under a heavy fire, and after an attack of three hours, obliged the Piedmontese to abandon the village of St. Michel; Serrurier, was afterward obliged to retreat. Massena now passed the Tenaro, near Ceva, and entered the village of Lezengo: Generals Guieux, and Florello, stopped at the bridge of Torre; Colli, the Sardinian commander, retreated, leaving behind his artillery, and took the road for Mondovi; at break of day the two armies were in sight of each other; the battle began in the village of Vico. General Guieux marched to the left of Mondovi; Florella, and Dommartin,

attacked and took the redoubt which covered the centre of the Sardinian army, which abandoned the field of battle, and the French entered Mondivi. In this battle the Sardinians lost eighteen hundred men, thirteen hundred of whom were made prisoners; one general was killed, and three taken prisoners; eleven stand of colors, and eight pieces of cannon were also taken. The French General Stengel was mortally wounded, charging at the head of one of the regiments of cavalry.

After the battle of Mondovi, the Sardinian army passed the Sture, and took its position between Coni and Cherasco, the latter place was surrounded by a range of castions, and well defended by palisadoes and *cheraux de frize*. The French troops entered the town of Bene. General Serruier advanced upon the town of Fossaro, the head quarters of General Colli, which he cannonaded. Bonaparte dispatched General Dugard, and his Aid-du-camp Marmont, to reconnoitre the place, and fix some batteries of howitzers, to destroy the pallisadoes: the Sardinian army discharged a few cannon shot, and evacuated the place, leaving behind twenty-eight pieces of cannon, and very considerable magazines: Fossaro immediately surrendered, and was occupied by Serruier. The French army was now within nine leagues of Turin.

The King of Sardinia having sent plenipotentiaries to Genoa, to treat for peace, through the mediation of the King of Spain, General Colli being apprised of it, sent a letter to General Bonaparte, proposing an armistice; the following answer was transmitted by the French commander in chief:

"The executive Directory reserves to itself the power of treating concerning peace. It is, therefore, necessary that the plenipotentiaries of the King, *your master*, repair immediately to Paris, or wait at Genoa, the arrival of those plenipotentiaries which the government may send there.

"The moral and military position of the two armies, renders impossible a pure and simple suspension of arms. Though I was perfectly convinced that the government would grant to your King all reasonable conditions of peace, I would not stop my march upon vague presumptions. As a means of obtaining your object, and

respecting the interests of your court, without departing, in the least, from the laws of war, while it spares the effusion of blood; it is required that there be put into our possession two, at your own option, of the three fortresses of Coni, Alexandria, and Tortuna; we shall then be able to wait without further hostilities, the issue of the negociation going forward. This proposition is extremely moderate. The mutual interest subsisting between Piedmont and the French republic, make me ardently wish to remove from your country, those manifold misfortunes with which it is now threatened.

"BUONAPARTE."

A suspension of arms was agreed upon, and a treaty of peace was concluded with the King of Sardinia, upon the following terms:

"Art. 1. The fee simple of Savoy, and the country of Nice, are for ever to be given up to France. The summit of the Alps, and the course of the rivers, henceforth to be on this side the limits of the republic.

"2. The French to occupy, until a general peace, the territories and passages necessary to the operation of their armies: four of the principal strong holds in their possession to remain so, until a general peace; the forts to be Alessandria, Susa, Tortona, and Cavic, which fortifications to be rated at a peace.

"3. In the country provisionally occupied by the French, they shall have the right of requisition, for provisions, forage, and a military contribution for the wants of their armies. The King of Sardinia, notwithstanding, to have the civil administration in those countries.

"4. The King of Sardinia not to grant a passage through his dominions to any but French troops.

"5. The King of Sardinia, to accept of the mediation of the French with respect to the differences subsisting between him and the republic of Genoa, as to the demarcation of the limits of the two states.

"6. The King of Sardinia not to permit any emigrants, or, banished Frenchmen, to be in his dominions.

"7. The King to grant an amnesty to such of his subjects as have expressed opinions favorable to the French revolution.

"8. He shall send a minister to Paris to disavow the offence against the rights of nations, in the person of Semonville, the French ambassador, whom he had prohibited from entering his states.

"9. The King of Sardinia guarantees in the commerce with his dominions, the same privileges as the most favored nations.

"10. The King to recognise the Batavian republic, and give to it the same privileges as to the French.

This treaty, so humiliating to Victor Amadeus, was followed by the total defeat of the Austrians, who had been sent by the court of Vienna as auxiliaries to his Sardinian Majesty; this was effected in the celebrated battle of Lodi.

Bonaparte arrived on May 10, at Casal, where he found the Austrians defending the approaches of Lodi; he gave immediate orders for all the cavalry to mount their horses, attended by four pieces of light artillery, which had just arrived from Placenza, drawn by the carriage-horses of the noblesse of that place: the division of General Augereau, and that of Massena, were instantly put in motion: in the mean time the vanguard forced all the enemy's posts, and took one piece of cannon. The French troops entered Lodi in pursuit of the enemy, who had already passed the Adda, by the bridge: Beaulieu's whole army was arranged in order of battle, and 30 pieces of heavy ordnance defended the passage of the bridge. Bonaparte ordered his whole artillery to be brought up, and a very brisk cannonade was kept up for several hours: as soon as the army arrived, it was drawn up in one column, at the head of which marched the second battalion of carabineers, followed by all the battalions of grenadiers, who reached the bridge under constant shouts of, *Long live the Republic*; the Austrians made a dreadful fire, and the French for a moment hesitated, when Generals Berthier, Massena, Cervoni, Dullemagne, Lame, and Dupat, precipitated themselves at the head of the column, and decided the day. This redoubtable column bore down all opposition; the whole of the Austrian artillery was instantly taken; Beaulieu's order of battle was broken, and the Austrian army was dispersed. The French cavalry passed the Adda by a ford; the French were prevented pursuing the Austrians

in consequence of the approach of night. In this sanguinary engagement the Austrians lost about three thousand men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners: General Beaulieu retreated, with the shattered remains of his army, through the territory of Venice. These brilliant successes occasioned negociations to be set on foot with all the states of Italy, his Holiness the Pope not excepted.

While the Austrian army was encamped on the banks of the river Mincio, Bonaparte prepared an attack with great skill and secresy. Beaulieu apprehensive of danger, ordered the bridge over the Mincio to be destroyed. While it was rebuilding, under a brisk fire from the Austrians, the French grenadiers, with their muskets in their hands, held over their heads, plunged into the river and passed it, wading up to their chins in water. This display of impetuous courage appalled the Austrians, when the head quarters of Beaulieu were taken, with two thousand men, and immense magazines; among the prisoners were the Princes of Ulto, and Colonne, in the service of the King of Naples. The republican troops then proceeded to Verona.

While the French arms were thus successful in Italy, the operations in Germany were of the most auspicious nature. On May 21, General Jourdan, who had the command of the army of the Sambre, and the Meuse, attacked the Austrians in the Hundsruck, in which a division, under General Kleber, gained considerable advantage. On the next day, at four in the morning, his troops proceeded in two columns, and as they advanced to cross the Sug, the Austrian cavalry, although superior in number, deserted the field; the French kept up a hedge fire in pursuing them, and forced them to retreat with precipitation and entrench themselves in the formidable post of Ukrath. The loss of the Austrians on this occasion was estimated, by the French, at two thousand four hundred men, killed and wounded.

Another victory was gained on June 4, by the left wing of the army of the Sambre, and the Meuse, at Altenkirchen, when the French took three thousand prisoners, twelve pieces of cannon, and four stand of colors; "Never (said General Kleber) was an engagement more brisk, or sooner decided; the infantry never attacked

with more ardor, nor did the cavalry ever more completely defeat the enemy."

On June 9, General Moreau pursued the Austrians who had evacuated Tripstadt, Neustadt, and Spires, taking the road to Manheim, and took many prisoners; Kleber also passed the Lahn, and pushed forward to Selters. Alarmed at these successes, the Archduke Charles retired from the Hundsruck, and defiled by Mentz, in order to co-operate with General Wurmser, and reinforce the Austrians on the right side of the Rhine: informed of the designs of the Archduke, General Jourdan passed at Neuwied, in order to prevent the proposed junction, but in this manœuvre he was unsuccessful.

Whilst General Kleber was driving the Austrians before him on the right bank of the Rhine, General Championet, and General Bernadotte, on the left bank, attacked the Austrians at different points, and after the latter had made a desperate resistance, forced them to retire from the Necke, and fall back upon Bingen.

The triumphs of the French republic reached from the banks of the Rhine to the banks of the Po and the Adda; the Venetian territories were occupied by French troops, but General Bonaparte, upon entering them, transmitted a letter to the senate of Venice, promising to pay the utmost respect to the government, religion, customs, and property of the Venetians.

Bonaparte had left Milan on May 24, to repair to Lodi, leaving behind him only such troops as were necessary for the blockade of the citadel; he had no sooner arrived at Lodi than he received intelligence that the tocsin had been rung in several parts of Lombardy. The inhabitants of Pavia, reinforced with six thousand peasants, surrounded the few troops which Bonaparte had left in the castle: and at Milan, the populace had attempted to pull down the tree of liberty, and trodden under foot the tricolored cockade. Bonaparte hastened to Milan, where he restored tranquillity: and from thence proceeded to Pavia, where he drove in the advanced posts of the insurgents; he drew up his forces in a close column, and, after some resistance, dispersed the croud: when he ordered all the municipality to be shot, and sent twenty prisoners as hostages to Paris. Having ordered the names of all the soldiers he left in garrison to be called

BERNADOTTE

Crown Prince of Sweden.

over, and finding them all safe, he exclaimed, "If the blood of a single Frenchman had been shed, I was determined to lay Pavia in ruins, and to erect on the spot a column, with this inscription, 'Here was the city of Pavia!"

The full tide of success which had rapidly flowed on since the new organization of the French republic, did not prevent various attempts to excite fresh insurrections and tumults in the capital. Babœuf, Drouet, and several others, were committed to prison on the charge of a conspiracy against the state; the great popularity of the directory, and the energetic measures pursued by the government, crushed the conspiracy in embryo. Drouet, who was one of the commissioners arrested by Dumouriez, and exchanged for the princess royal, had been elected one of the council of five hundred; the plot was against the members of the legislative body, and the executive directory; Drouet and some of the leaders of the terrorist faction, were at the head. Letournear's presidency of the directory having expired, he was succeeded by M. Carnot.†

The operations of the British troops in the West Indies, in many instances, failed of success; the English were repulsed in an attack on Fort Leogane in St. Domingo; General Sir Ralph Abercromby, the British commander, made an attack, in the month of May, on Morne Fortune, in the island of St. Lucie, but the attempt, though most judiciously planned, failed of effect, and the British forces were obliged to return and occupy their former position. These unfortunate events were, however, com-

† CARNOT was, on the resignation of the Abbé Sieyes, elected to a seat in the directory. He was originally an officer, and having received a good education, and being attached to the study of mathematics, he entered into the corps of engineers. He uniformly availed himself of the temper and disposition of the times, and always joined that party which was strongest. On the execution of Robespierre, and the proscription of his party, the convention, after giving orders to arrest several of its members who were Jacobins, came to his name, the members exclaimed, "Carnot has organised victory; let him persevere in his exertions in favor of his native country. To the exertions of this individual, the conquest of Holland, and Austrian Flanders, the exterior of Spain, and the successes in Italy, have been attributed. It was said of him, "That he chained victory to the chariot wheels of France. Pichegru and Jourdan acted strictly according to his instructions. He was the chief means of introducing Napoleon Bonaparte to active service, and was in high favor with him during his Imperial dignity. M. Carnot has recently presented a republican memorial to Louis XVIII.

pensated by the capture of the Dutch settlement of Demerary, by a party of troops dispatched by General Abercromby, assisted by a squadron which arrived on the coast with troops, under the command of General White. There were considerable stores at Demerary, and several merchant ships richly laden. The adjoining colony of Berbice was also captured.

The Batavian national convention, in the plenitude of its wisdom, decreed, and published, a manifesto, drawn up in very strong language, from which we shall extract some passages:

"Will Europe still doubt, that the Batavian republic has not rightfully drawn the sword from the sheath, when she is constrained to a just defence? Will Europe still doubt that the Batavian republic has been led to the very brink of utter destruction by the disastrous policy of the British ministry? Will Europe still doubt, that the regenerated Batavian republic, will not, with the help of its illustrious ally, vigorously repel the arrogant domination of the English cabinet, and will not consolidate the liberty so dearly and perilously acquired at the expence even of all by which she is interested?

"When England attempted, by force of arms, to subjugate her American colonies, which she had driven to a just insurrection; and when the scourge of war extended to other empires, the States General of the United Provinces were careful to observe a strict neutrality; they did not suffer Dutch vessels to transport any other commodities to America, those excepted which were declared free by the express terms of treaties: the most efficacious precautions were carefully taken to prevent warlike stores from being conveyed to the American colonies, as well as to prevent any fraudulent commerce from being carried on with them, precautions which did not a little shackle and injure our own commerce to the West Indies."

The manifesto then proceeded to expatiate on supposed injuries received from the government of Great Britain; it closed with the following words:

"It is, therefore, with a perfect confidence in that love of the country, in that energy, and in that courage with which liberty alone can inspire a nation, for a long time insulted and oppressed, that the independent Batavian

nation solemnly declares in the face of Europe, through the organ of its legitimate representatives, that, obliged to defend itself against the acts of perfidy and violence of the neighbouring kingdom of Great Britain, it will repel every act of aggression on its liberty, its independence, its rights, and its legitimate possessions; and that it will put in execution all possible means to receive satisfaction, and indemnity, for the incalculable losses it has sustained through a perfidious ally; in the firm hope that Divine Providence, who has miraculously preserved this country from a total ruin, will bless its arms, and will not allow violence and oppression ever to fix their fatal abode on its free territory.

Done at the Hague, May 2, 1796, second year of Batavian freedom.

CHAP. XX.

French Finances. Conditions of the Armistice with the Pope. Capture of Sir Sydney Smith. Capture of Leghorn. Commotions in Paris. Negociations for Peace between Great Britain and France.

It has been already noticed, that during the period of Robespierre's tyranny, public credit was at a low ebb, the circulation of assignats had been stopped; Dufermont, reporter of the committee of finance, proposed to print an account of the national domains unalienated, as transmitted by the directory; this account stated, that the national domains amounted to the value of eight thousand four hundred millions, whilst the assignats, according to their value, did not exceed three thousand three hundred millions. The executive directory issued the following proclamation, relative to the creation of territorial *Mandats:*

"FRENCHMEN,

"Your Legislators have just created a new species of money, founded at once upon the justice and necessity of

providing for the immense wants of the state; they have conciliated the interest of the republic with the interest of individuals; or rather, it is in their private interest even that they have found new and abundant resources for the government, and such will be always the calculation of a true and sound policy: in short, after so terrible a war, after so many violent checks, the nation is all at once lifted, by the creation of territorial Mandats, to the same state of fortune and of means, which she possessed in the first period of the revolution. To render these means fruitful, to recover the same degree of opulence and splendor, we must have the same rectitude of confidence in the representatives of the nation, the same obedience to the laws, the same fraternal union between citizens.

"Your fate, oh, Frenchmen! Is then entirely in your hands; let the law relative to territorial Mandats be faithfully observed, and France will come out from the revolution happy and triumphant; if the law be despised, a profound abyss will be immediately dug under our feet. The territorial mandats have a previous advantage which the assignats have not, it was the want of it that occasioned their depreciation; this advantage is, the facility attached to the mandat of being realised in a moment, without hindrance, obstacle, or sale, by the immediate and incontestible transfer of the national domains, upon which the bearer of the mandats may have fixed his choice in the whole extent of the republic; it is a territorial bank, with funds well ascertained, whose notes may be exchanged in open market, and whose guarantee is fortified by the authority of the law, which gives them the forced currency of money. It was thus necessary to prevent the criminal effects of stock jobbing and disaffection, which incessantly endeavouring to convert the most wholesome remedies into poison, would have depreciated and monopolised the new money before the mass of citizens could have been informed of its real value."

The grand successes of the French army in Italy under General Bonaparte, had occasioned his Holiness Pius VI. to enter into an armistice: the humiliating situation to which the Sovereign Pontiff was reduced is apparent in the articles which constituted it:

"1. Anxious to give a proof of the deference of the

French government to the King of Spain, the commander in chief, and the civil commissaries of the army of Italy, grant a suspension of arms to his holiness, to last until after the termination of the negociation to be opened at Paris, for the conclusion of a definitive peace between the two countries.

"2. The Pope shall send a plenipotentiary to Paris as soon as possible, in order to obtain a definitive peace from the directory, by offering a necessary reparation for the insults and outrages which the French have sustained in his dominions, and particularly for the murder of Basseville,† and the satisfaction due to his family.

"3. All persons confined in the territories of the Pope, on account of their political opinions, shall immediately be set at liberty, and restored to the possession of their property.

"4. All the seaports in the papal territories shall be shut against the enemies of the French republic, and open to all French ships.

"5. The French army shall remain in possession of Bologne and Ferrara, and shall also occupy Faenza.

"6. The citadel of Ancona shall be delivered up within the space of six days, to the French troops, with all the artillery and ammunition which it contains.

"7. The city of Ancona shall remain under the government of the Pope.

"8. The Pope shall yield to the French republic, 100 pictures, busts, vases, and statues, at the choice of commissioners to be sent to Rome; amongst which are specifically comprehended, the bust in bronze of Junius Brutus, and that in marble of Marcus Brutus, both placed in the capitol. The Pope shall also deliver up 500 manuscripts, at the choice of the said commissioners.

"9. The Pope shall pay the French republic twenty-one millions, French money, of which fifteen millions and a half shall be in specie, or ingots, and the remainder in goods, merchandise, horses, &c.

"10. The fifteen millions and a half shall be paid by three instalments, viz. five millions within a fortnight;

† The French Envoy who was killed in an insurrection at Rome.

five millions in the course of the ensuing month, and the remainder within the space of three months.

"11. The five millions and a half in goods, &c. shall be delivered in the ports of Genoa and Leghorn, and at such other places as shall be appointed, in possession of the French troops."

It is evident from the eighth article, that General Bonaparte had received especial instructions with respect to the arts, as it appeared the directory had resolved to form a grand depot of the richest productions of art from every country which was conquered.

Among the inferior naval officers who had sustained the honor of the British flag by a spirit of undaunted enterprize, Sir W. Sydney Smith, had acquired distinguished honor. This gallant officer having sailed in his boat with the design of cutting out a French lugger in the port of Havre de Grace, had fortunately succeeded, but deterred from immediate sailing, he cast anchor; during the night, however, the ship drove from her anchor, the cable having been cut by one of the prisoners, and was carried by the current above the town. In this situation he was attacked by all the gun-boats, and other vessels the enemy could procure; and after a desperate resistance, against a force so greatly superior to his own, he found himself, at length, obliged to surrender.

The forcible entry of the French troops into Tuscany naturally excited an alarm for the safety of the British factory at Leghorn. On June 14, a meeting of the council and factory was summoned, at which Captain Freemantle, of the Inconstant, attended, who assured them that he would remain at anchor in the road for their protection, until the enemy should oblige him to weigh. The merchants prepared to embark their goods on board the merchant ships and transports, which were ordered immediately out of the Mole; and the precautions which Captain Freemantle took were so effectual, that the principal part of British property was preserved. The French entered Leghorn on June 27, and began firing on the Inconstant, when Captain Freemantle got under weigh. All the shipping, naval stores, and provisions were saved. The British merchants, and the French emigrants, were placed under the care of Lord Garlies, who conveyed them in safety to San Fiorenzo. The gal-

lant Commodore Nelson, owing to calm and light winds, was not able to reach Leghorn Road until the enemy was in possession, but he remained at anchor off the Malora, to stop any English ships that might be ignorant of the event which had lately transpired. On July 10, Major Duncan took possession of the forts and town of Porto Ferrajo; Commodore Nelson, had the management of the expedition.

The proceedings of the directory were greatly inimical to the sentiments of the remnant of the Jacobins yet existing. In the month of September, a serious commotion took place on the night of the 10th; the insurgents to the amount of nearly fifteen hundred, attempted to take possession of the camp of Grenelle; a regular battle ensued, and several lives were lost: the promptitude of the measures adopted to restore tranquillity, soon produced the desired effect. A military commission was instituted for the purpose of trying such of the Jacobins as were apprehended, and domiciliary visits were ordered in certain departments.

On September the 21st. the conspirators of Grenelle, amounting to twelve persons, were conducted in two carriages, in the midst of a strong armed force, and a vast concourse of people, to the place appointed for them to suffer death by being shot: they appeared with an undaunted and even gay air, embracing each other as they descended from the carriages; they were ordered to kneel, but only four obeyed; General Jacob, one of the conspirators, said to the soldiers, "Fire; I do not fear death." The signal being given, they all fell except Cailleux, who was only slightly wounded, but was killed by a second discharge of artillery.

The abrupt termination of the correspondence between Mr. Wickham, and M. Barthelemi, did not preclude the British cabinet from entering into fresh negociations; Mr. Hammond had been sent on a commission of a pacific nature to the continent. The executive directory published an official note, purporting, that an application, dated Westminster, the 21st of September, was remitted to the minister of foreign affairs for the French republic, and by him presented to the directory, desiring passports for an envoy from the British cabinet, who was to proceed to Paris, to make overtures of peace; that the executive directory immediately charged the minister of fo-

reign affairs to deliver the passports desired, to the envoy of England, "who shall be invested with full powers, not only to propose and negociate a peace between the French republic and Great Britain, but to conclude it definitively between the two powers."

On the 10th of October, Lord Malmesbury,† embarked at Dover, and reached Calais the same day; he was received with great respect by the municipality. On his route to Paris, he was every where greeted with the hearty congratulations of the people. On his lordship's approaching Paris, he was met by a prodigious croud, many of whom were *poissardes*, who entered his carriage, and overwhelmed him with their caresses; they even were desirous of drawing his lordship in triumph into the city, but Lord Malmesbury politely declined this *unwished for honor*, and judiciously distributed money among the *many-headed throng*, who remained perfectly satisfied with the diplomatique bribe. His lordship, a few days after his arrival, delivered the following memorial to the minister for foreign affairs:

"His Britannic Majesty desiring, as he has already declared, to contribute, as far as depends on himself, to the re-establishment of public tranquillity, and to ensure by the means of just, honorable, and solid conditions of peace, the future repose of Europe. His Majesty is of opinion, that the best means of attaining, with all possible expedition, that salutary end, will be to agree, at the beginning of the negociation, on the general principle which shall serve as a basis for the definitive arrangements.

"The first object of the negociation for peace generally relates to the restitutions and cessions which the respective parties have mutually to demand, in consequence of the events of the war.

"Great Britain, after the uninterrupted success of her naval war, finds herself in a situation to have no restitution to demand of France, from which, on the contrary, she has taken establishments and colonies of

† Right Honorable JAMES HARRIS, LORD MALMESBURY, was formerly Ambassador at the Hague. He is son of the celebrated philosopher of Salisbury, the elegant and enlightened author of "Hermes." His lordship has published a fine edition of his father's works, in 3 vols. 4to.

the highest importance, and of a value almost incalculable.

"But, on the other hand, France has made on the continent of Europe, conquests, to which his Majesty can be less indifferent, as the most important interests of his people, and the most sacred engagements of his crown, are essentially implicated therein.

"The magnanimity of the King, his inviolable good faith, and his desire to restore repose to so many nations, leads him in this situation of affairs, to consider the means of procuring terms of peace, just and equitable for all the belligerent powers, and calculated to ensure, in future, the general tranquillity.

"It is on this footing then that he proposes to negociate, by offering to compensate France, by proportionable restitutions, for those arrangements to which she will be called upon to consent, in order to satisfy the just demands of the King's allies, and to preserve the political balance of Europe.

"Having made this first overture, his Majesty will in the sequel, explain himself in a more extensive manner, on the application of this principle to the different objects which may be discussed between the respective parties.

"It is this application which will constitute the subject of those discussions into which his Majesty has authorized his minister to enter, as soon as the principle to be adopted as the general basis of the negociation is known.

"But his Majesty cannot dispense with declaring, that if this generous equitable offer shall not be accepted; or, if unfortunately the discussion which may ensue may fail in the desired effect, neither this general proposition, nor those more detailed which may result from it, shall be regarded in any case as points agreed upon, or acceded to by his Majesty.

(Signed) "MALMESBURY,
"Minister Plenipotentiary from
His Britannic Majesty."

Paris, October 24, 1796.

The following report of the directory on this subject, was made to the directory by M. Delacroix:

"The executive directory having furnished me with full powers to treat for peace with Great Britain, I had yesterday (3d. Brumaire) my first conference with Lord Malmesbury, plenipotentiary commissioner from his Britannic Majesty. He presented to me the original of his powers, sealed with the seal of Great Britain, and certified the copy which he had before presented to me unsigned, and which I had laid before the directory. I reciprocally exhibited to him my powers, and gave him a certified copy. It was agreed, that the originals should be exchanged upon the definitive settlement of the articles, and before their signature.

"We entered into discussion. Lord Malmesbury presented to me the memorial which I laid before the directory. I observed to him, that speaking in the name of the allies of Great Britain, and stipulating for their interests, he was doubtless furnished with their powers and instructions. He answered me, that he was not, but that when the directory should have explained itself upon the principle laid down in his memorial, he would expedite couriers to give to the different courts an account of the negociations, and to receive their orders. I demanded of him if he could, at least, specify the principle of concession in what concerned the republic, and the government of Great Britain? He replied, that after the directory should have explained itself, he would send a courier and demand instructions on this point. I then thought it my duty to say to Lord Malmesbury, that I would lay his memorial before the directory; that I would take its orders, and impart to him its answer.

(Signed)

"CHA. DELACROIX."

Answer of the Directory.

"The executive directory orders the minister for foreign affairs to make the following answer to Lord Malmesbury.

"The executive directory sees with pain, that at the moment when they had reason to hope for the very speedy return of peace between the French republic, and his Britannic Majesty, the proposition of Lord Malmesbury offers nothing but dilatory, or very distant means of bringing the negociation to a conclusion.

"The directory observe, that if Lord Malmesbury would have treated separately, as he was formally authorized by the tenor of his credentials, the negociations might have been considerably abridged; that the necessity of balancing with the interest of the two powers those of the allies of Great Britain, multiplies the combinations, increases the difficulties, tends to the formation of a congress, the forms of which it is known are tardy; and acquires the accession of powers, which hitherto have displayed no desire of accommodation, and have not given to Lord Malmesbury himself, according to his own declaration, any power to stipulate for them.

"Thus, without prejudging the intention of Lord Malmesbury, without drawing any conclusion from the circumstance of his declaration not appearing to accord with his credentials, without supposing that he had received any secret instructions which would destroy the effects of his ostensible powers; without pretending, in short, to assert, that the British government have had a double object in view, to prevent, by general propositions, the partial proposition of other powers, and to obtain from the people of England the means of continuing the war, by throwing upon the republic the odium of a delay occasioned by themselves. The executive directory cannot but perceive, that the proposition of Lord Malmesbury is nothing more than a renewal, under more amicable forms, of the proposition made last year by Mr. Wickham, and that it presents but a distant hope of peace.

"The executive directory further observe, with respect to the principle of cession advanced by Lord Malmesbury, that such principles, presented in a vague and isolated manner, cannot serve as the basis of negociation; that the first points of consideration are, the common necessity of a just and solid peace, the political equilibrium, which absolute cessions might destroy; and then the means which the belligerent powers might possess, the one to retain conquests made at a time when it was supported by a great number of allies, now detached from the coalition; and the other to recover them at a time when those who were first its enemies, have almost all, either become its allies, or act upon a system of neutrality.

"Nevertheless, the executive directory, animated with

a sincere desire of putting a stop to the scourge of war, and to prove that they will not reject any means of reconciliation, declare, that as soon as Lord Malmesbury shall exhibit to the minister for foreign affairs, sufficient powers from the allies of Great Britain, for stipulating for their respective interests, accompanied by a promise on their part to subscribe to whatever shall be concluded in their names, the executive directory will give a speedy answer to the specific propositions which shall be submitted to them: and that the difficulties shall be removed, as far as may be consistent with the safety and dignity of the French republic.

(Signed)

"REVEILLEIRE LEPEAUX, President.

"LA GARDE, General Secretary."

In a long report, contained in a letter from Lord Malmesbury, to Lord Grenville, the following particulars relative to the progress of the negociations, are related: His lordship gave to the French plenipotentiary, a memorial, containing the *conditions* on which his Majesty considered the restoration of peace; as also a note expressive of his Majesty's readiness to enter into any explanation required by the directory on the subject, or to receive any *contra-projects*, resting on the same basis which the directory might be disposed to receive; and that his lordship was prepared to answer any question, or explain and elucidate any points when requisite, to prevent misconception. M. Delacroix perused the memorial with great attention; after which he said, that it appeared to him to require much more than it conceded; and in the event, did not leave France in a situation of proportional greatness to the powers of Europe. The act of the constitution of France made it impossible for the republic to do what was required; the Austrian Netherlands were annexed to it, they could not be disposed of without flinging the nation into all the confusion which must follow a convocation of the primary assemblies; and he was rather surprised that Great Britain should bring this forward, as the governing condition of the treaty, Lord Malmesbury controverted this observation by saying, that he could disprove this opinion by the spirit of the French constitution itself; for

even allowing that the retrocessions of the Austrian Netherlands was incompatible with their laws, yet that there existed a *droit publique* in Europe, paramount to any *droit publique* they might think proper to establish with their own dominion; and that if their own constitution was publicly known, the treaties existing between his Majesty and the Emperor, were, at least, equally public; and in these it was clearly and distinctly announced, that the two contracting parties reciprocally promise not to lay down their arms, without the restitution of all the dominions, territories, &c. which may have belonged to either of them before the war. His lordship also observed, that the date of this stipulation was previous to the annexation of the Austrian Netherlands to France; and the notoriety of this ought at the very moment when they had passed that law, to have convinced them, that if adhered to, it must prove an insurmountable obstacle to peace. His lordship applied his maxim to the West India islands, and to the settlements in the East Indies; and asked, Whether it was expected, that England was to wave its right of possession, and be required still to consider those islands and settlements as integral parts of the French republic, which must be restored, and on which no value was to be set in the balance of compensation?

Lord Malmesbury also stated the possible case of France having lost part of what she deemed her integral dominions, instead of having added to them, in the course of the war, and whether then, under the apprehension of still greater losses, the government of France, should consider itself as *now composed*, as not vested with powers sufficient to save their country from impending danger, by making peace on the condition of sacrificing a portion of their dominions to save the remainder?

M. Delacroix replied, This was stating a case of necessity; and such a mode of reasoning did not apply to the present circumstances. His lordship, in answer, admitted the first part of the proposition, but contended, that if the power existed in a case of necessity, it equally existed in all others, and particularly in the present instance.

The French plenipotentiary then endeavoured to prove,

that from the relative situation of the adjacent countries, the existing government of France would be reprehensible in the extreme, and deserve impeachment, if they ever permitted the Netherlands to be separated from their dominions; that by the partition of Poland, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, had increased their power to a most formidable degree; that England, by its conquests, and by the activity and judgment with which it governed its colonies, had doubled its strength; "Your Indian empire (exclaimed M. Delacroix) has enabled you to subsidize all the powers of Europe against us, and your monopoly of trade has put you in possession of riches inexhaustible."

From the necessity that France should keep the Netherlands, and the left bank of the Rhine, for the purpose of preserving its relative situation in Europe, he passed to the advantage which he contended would arise to the other powers by such an addition to the French dominions. Belgium, by belonging to France, would remove what had been the source of all wars for two centuries past; and the Rhine being the natural boundary of France, would ensure the tranquillity of Europe for two centuries to come.

Lord Malmesbury urged, that the force and power France had acquired by its change of government, was much greater than it could acquire from any acquisition of territory; an idea which M. Delacroix had greatly expatiated upon. It followed, if France when under a regal form of government, was a very just and proper object of attention, not to say of jealousy, to the other powers of Europe, France, according to this axiom, was a much more reasonable object of jealousy and attention under its present constitution, than it had ever yet been; and that no addition to its dominions could be seen by its neighbours, but under impressions of alarm for their own future safety; and for the general tranquillity of Europe.

M. Delacroix made a very emphatic reply: "During the revolution, my lord, all that you say was true; nothing could equal our power; but that time is past; we can no longer raise the nation *en masse*, to protect the country from danger; we can no longer persuade our fellow citizens to open their purses to pour them into the national treasury, or deprive themselves of the neces-

saries of life for the public good." He closed by observing, That the French republic, when at peace, must necessarily become the most quiet and pacific power in Europe. He then, in answer to some remarks of the British plenipotentiary, suggested an idea of offering an equivalent to the Emperor for the Austrian Netherlands, in the secularization of the three ecclesiastical electories, and several bishoprics in Germany and Italy; as also of creating new electors; and specified the Stadtholder, the Dukes of Brunswick, and Wurtemberg, as persons proper to replace the three ecclesiastical electors who were to be removed.

Lord Malmesbury now took an opportunity of hinting, That if on all the other points, France agreed to the proposals now made, it would not be impossible that some increase of territory might be ceded to her, on the Germanic side of her frontiers, and this in addition to the Duchy of Savoy, Nice, and Avignon, would be a very great acquisition of strength and power; with respect to Belgium, his lordship said, that he should not deal fairly, if he hesitated to declare, that on this point no expectation could be entertained that his Majesty would relax, or even consent to see the Netherlands remain a part of France. In this case, said M. Delacroix, there is no prospect of our ideas ever meeting, and he despaired of the success of the negociation.

On the points which concerned the reservation of a right to the court of Petersburgh, and to that of Lisbon, to accede to the treaty of peace, on the strict *status ante bellum*, the French minister made no other remark than mentioning the allies of the republic. Upon touching on the Spanish part of St. Domingo, he confined all he had to say to combating the idea that Spain was bound by the treaty of Utrecht, not to estimate her possessions in America. Lord Malmesbury having a copy of that memorable treaty, he produced it, and resisted the article alluded to. The French minister confessed it was clear and explicit, but circumstances had so materially altered since that period, that the engagements then made, ought not now to be considered as in force. His lordship animadverted by saying, That it was not impossible this point might be settled without much difficulty, and that means might be devised that his Catholic Majesty should not break his faith, and both England and

France be equally satisfied; Spain might regain her part of St. Domingo, by making some considerable cession to Great Britain and France, as the price of peace; or that in return for leaving the whole of St. Domingo to France, we should retain either Martinico, St. Lucia, or Tobago. Delacroix dismissed the subject of the court of Madrid, by observing, that France never would forsake the interests of its allies.

Regarding Holland, M. Delacroix affected to treat any deviation from the treaty of peace, concluded between France and that country, or any restoration of territories acquired under that treaty to France, as quite impracticable; as also any attempt at restoring to the United Provinces, the ancient form of government. He exulted in the establishment of a national convention at the Hague, because freedom had extended itself over so large a body of people; he, however, confessed, that from the great losses the Dutch republic had sustained in its colonies, and particularly from the weak manner in which they had been defended, it could not be expected that his Britannic Majesty would consent to a full and complete restitution of them, and that it was reasonable some should be sacrificed; at the same time inquiring, how far the views of England extended on this subject? To which quere it was replied, That what his Majesty would require, would be possessions and settlements, which would not add either to the power or wealth of our Indian dominions, but only tend to secure to us their safe and unmolested possessions. You mean by this, rejoined M. Delacroix, the Cape and Trincomale? Certainly, said Lord Malmesbury; then said the former, If you are masters of Trincomale and the Cape, we shall hold all our settlements in India, and the islands of France and Bourbon, entirely at the tenure of your will and pleasure; they will be ours as long only as we chuse you should retain them; you will be sole masters of India, and we shall be intirely dependent upon you: Holland stript of these possessions would be ruined. He again asked, Whether he was to state to his government the disunity of Belgium from France as a *sine qua non*, from which his Majesty would not depart? The answer received was, Unquestionably it was so to be considered.

A few days after the discussions above-mentioned, the following letter was transmitted to Lord Malmesbury:

Paris, December 18.

"SIR,

"The executive directory has heard the reading of the official note, signed by you, and of two confidential memorials without signatures, which were annexed to it, and which you gave in to me yesterday. I am expressly charged by the directory to declare to you, that it cannot listen to any confidential note without a signature; and to require of you, to give into me officially, within four and twenty hours, your ultimatum signed by you; and accept, Sir, the assurance of my high consideration. "CH. DELACROIX."

Paris, December 19.

"Lord Malmesbury, in answer to the letter which the minister of foreign affairs had the goodness to transmit to him, through the hands of the Secretary General of his department, must remark, that in signing the official note, which he gave in to that minister by order of his court, he thought he had complied with all the usual formalities, and had given the necessary authenticity to the two confidential memorials annexed to it, nevertheless, to remove all difficulties as far as lies in his power, he willingly adopts the forms which are pointed out by the resolution of the executive directory, and hastens to send to the minister for foreign affairs, the two memorials signed by his hand. With respect to the positive demand of an *ultimatum*, Lord Malmesbury observes, that insisting in so peremptory a manner, before the two powers shall have communicated to each other their respective pretensions, and that the articles of the future treaty shall have been submitted to the discussions which the different interests which are to be adjusted necessarily demand, is to shut the door against all negociation. He, therefore, can add nothing to the assurances which he has already given to the minister for foreign affairs as well by word of mouth, as in his official note; and repeats that he is ready to enter with that minister every explanation of which the state and progress of negociation will admit; and that he will not fail to enter into the discussion of the proposals of his court, or

counter project which may be delivered to him, on the part of the executive directory, with that candor, and that spirit of conciliation, which correspond with the just and pacific sentiments of his court. Lord Malmesbury requests the minister for foreign affairs to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

Paris, December 19.

"The under-mentioned minister for foreign affairs is charged by the executive directory, to answer to Lord Malmesbury's two notes of the 27th and 29th Brumaire, (17th and 19th Dec. O. S.) that the executive directory will listen to no proposals, contrary to the constitution, to the laws, and to the treaties which bind the republic: and as Lord Malmesbury announces at every communication, that he is in want of the advice of his court, from which it results, that he acts a part merely passive in the negociation, which renders his presence at Paris useless; the undersigned is further charged to give him notice, to depart from Paris in eight and forty hours, with all the persons who have accompanied and followed him; and to quit as expeditiously as possible the territory of the republic. The undersigned moreover declares, in the name of the executive directory, that if the British cabinet is desirous of peace, the executive directory is ready to follow the negociations, according to the basis laid down in the present note, by the reciprocal channel of couriers. "CH. DELACROIX."

In consequence of the above order, Lord Malmesbury quitted Paris within the time limited, and thus abruptly terminated the negociations for peace. On so important a subject, we have given as full an analysis of the documents as the limits of our work would permit.

CHAP. XXI.

Declaration of the British Court respecting the Negociation for Peace. War with Spain. Affairs of Ireland.

It was requisite that all Europe should be apprised of the reasons and motives which actuated the court of St. James's in the late abortive negociation for peace. Soon after the arrival of Lord Malmesbury, a state paper explanatory of that circumstance appeared; it began with animadverting on the abrupt termination of the negociation, premising that an overture had previously been made by the British minister in Switzerland, and the causes which rendered it inefficient with respect to the mission of Lord Malmesbury, "Many circumstances might have been urged as affording powerful motives against it; until the government of France had given some indication of a spirit better calculated to promote the success of such a mission, and to meet these advances on the part of Great Britain. The King's desire for the restoration of general peace on just and honorable terms, his concern for the interest of his subjects, and his determination to leave to his enemies no pretext for imputing to him, the consequence of their own ambition, induced him to overlook every consideration, and to take a step which these reasons alone could justify."

The declaration then charges the French government with repeated evasion and delay, and with "an offensive and most extravagant demand ever made in the course of any negociation;" namely, that at the very outset of the business, Lord Malmesbury should deliver in twenty-four hours the *ultimatum* of what his court would accede to; and to a demand "so preposterous in its nature, in its execution so impracticable," was added the insult of an abrupt order to quit Paris in eight and forty hours. The declaration closed with stating, that "his Majesty, who had entered into the negociation with good faith, who has suffered no impediment to prevent his prosecuting it with earnestness and sincerity, has now only to lament its abrupt termination; and to renew in the face of all Europe, the solemn declaration, that whenever his ene-

mies shall be disposed to enter on the work of general pacification, in a spirit of conciliation and equity, nothing shall be wanting on his part to contribute to the accomplishment of that great object, with a view to which he has already offered such considerable sacrifices on his part, and which is now retarded only by the exorbitant pretensions of his enemies."

Ever since the alliance with France, the court of Madrid had evidenced a correspondent coolness with respect to Great Britain: the Marquis of Bute had made a remonstrance with respect to a fleet which was lying in the port of Cadiz, the result of which was, that orders were sent for dismantling it, which consisted of 20 sail of the line. This apparent symptom of a pacific disposition soon disappeared, and was followed by unequivocal marks of an hostile temper and disposition. At length, the thunderbolts of war were hurled, and a solemn decree was issued against Great Britain; the manifesto asserted, that the chief motive which exerted Spain to make peace with the French republic was, the manner in which England had behaved during the whole of the war, especially by the treatment the Spanish squadron at Toulon had received from Admiral Hood, and in the expedition he undertook against Corsica: another source of dissatisfaction was, the treaty with America in 1794, relative to Nootka Sound; it complained of the expedition to the Antilles, and St. Domingo; and the establishment of commercial companies upon the banks of the Missouri, in South America, with the design of penetrating through those countries to the South Sea; as also the conquest of the Dutch colony of Demerara: other sources of grievance had arisen from acts of violence committed in the Mediterranean, by English frigates; and the capture of Spanish ships laden with property, especially the rich cargo of the Spanish ship Minerva; the attack also committed on the Ambassador Don Simon de la Cusus, by a tribunal at London, which decreed his arrest, founded upon the demand of a very small sum: and, finally, the violation of the Spanish territory upon the coasts of Galacia and Alicant, by the English ships the Camelion, and the Kangaroo; and the behaviour of Captain George Vaughan, of the Alarm, in the island of Trinity.

The publication of this paper was followed by a formal

declaration of war, on October 8. In answer to the charges thus adduced, an answer was published by the court of Great Britain; that relative to Lord Hood, at Toulon, was declared to be only a just and proper co-operation of a commanding officer, acting in alliance with another power, making a common cause in a war. As for the treaty with America, it was replied, that his Britannic Majesty had equal right as his Catholic Majesty, to contract any such engagements; and that the court of Madrid had actually concluded a similar treaty, injurious to the interests of Great Britain. The succeeding accusations were descanted upon very minutely, and with great energy of reasoning. The paper closed with an appeal to Divine Providence respecting the issue of the contest.

The spirit of insubordination had for a considerable time disturbed the peace of the kingdom of Ireland. An association had been formed, designated by the name of "Defenders;" the direct aim of the members of this body was to subvert the government, and destroy the Protestant religion; they were admitted by a solemn oath, the nature of which was explained by a catechism of instruction, and were composed of the lower classes of the Catholics. There was a higher class of persons, whose designs were still more dangerous, as they had more extensive influence, amongst these were Arthur O'Connor, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Counsellor Sampson, and Quigley, a Roman Catholic priest at Dundalk; O'Connor was the sworn proprietor and publisher of a newspaper, entitled, "The Press." A regular correspondence was kept up with the French; and Jackson, a clergyman of the church of England, had been employed as an agent in that infamous business. At the meeting of the Irish parliament, a bill was passed for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act. The following proclamation was issued by the Lord Lieutenant, on November 6, 1796.

"CAMDEN.

"Whereas we have received information, that divers ill-affected persons have entered into illegal and treasonable associations, in several parts of the counties of Antrim, Down, Tyrone, Londonderry, and Armagh, to

subvert the established government of the kingdom; and for effecting such their treasonable purposes, have assassinated divers of his Majesty's faithful and loyal subjects; and have endeavored, and threaten, to assassinate all others who shall endeavor to detect and suppress their treason; and in further prosecution of their designs, have endeavored to deter his Majesty's loyal subjects from enrolling themselves, under officers commissioned by his Majesty, for the defence of this kingdom, during the present war, by maiming and destroying their cattle, and by assaulting and wantonly wounding one person, avowedly because he had enrolled himself, and by threatening assassination against all persons who should so enrol themselves; and in further prosecution of such their purpose, have, by felonious and other illegal means, endeavored secretly to procure ammunition and other warlike stores; and particularly, that several evil-disposed persons broke into one of his Majesty's stores, in the town of Belfast, in the county of Antrim, and thereout took and carried away ten barrels of gunpowder. And whereas we also have received information, that on Tuesday, the 1st. of November instant, a considerable number of armed men, associated in the aforesaid treasonable conspiracies, entered the town of Stewartstown, in the county of Tyrone, and cut and maimed several of the peaceable inhabitants of the said town, who had refused to join in their associations, and who had agreed to enrol themselves in corps under officers to be commissioned by his Majesty, for the preservation of the public peace, and for the protection of the kingdom against foreign invasion: And whereas we have also received information, that in further prosecution of the said treasonable purposes, large bodies of men have assembled and arrayed themselves, and marched in military order, and with military music, through several parts of the said district, under the pretence of saving corn, and digging potatoes, (though they far exceeded the numbers necessary to be employed in such services,) to the very great terror of the loyal and faithful subjects of his Majesty: And whereas such treasonable outrages have caused well-grounded alarms in the minds of his Majesty's faithful subjects, and are of the most dangerous and pernicious tendency. Now we, the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council, being determined to maintain the

public peace, and to afford protection to all his Majesty's loyal subjects, and immediately and effectually to exercise all powers with which the constitution has invested us for these purposes, do forewarn all persons of the danger they may incur, and on their allegiance charge them to desist from such treasonable practices: And we do hereby strictly charge and command all mayors, sheriffs, justices of the peace, and other peace officers, and all officers civil and military, in this kingdom, and all other his Majesty's loving subjects, as they tender their allegiance to his Majesty, and their own safety, to use their best endeavors to prevent, and where that cannot be done, to discover and bring to justice those concerned in the aforesaid practices: and to prevent and disperse all treasonable, seditious, or unlawful assemblies; the necessary orders having been already issued to the several officers of his Majesty's forces in this kingdom, to be aiding and assisting to the civil magistrates in the execution of their duties for that purpose.

"Given at the Council Chamber, in Dublin, the 6th day of November, 1796."

From the circumstances expressly mentioned in this proclamation, there could be no doubt that a rebellion was organising, aided by the effective power of France; this was more particularly apparent from the language of the French papers at this period; one of which, adverting to the spirit of insurrection which had already appeared in Ireland, observed, "That the insurrection of Ireland turns upon England herself the disasters of civil war, which she maintained during three years on the blood-stained soil of La Vendee, must fix the attention of Europe; it must be productive of incalculable consequences, perhaps, the peace of France depends on it." It is requisite to observe, that a number of disaffected persons, infuriated disciples of Thomas Paine, natives both of England and Ireland, were now resident in Paris; it was between these men and the Irish malcontents, that a treasonable correspondence was kept up, and secret information conveyed favorable to the ideas of an invasion of Ireland.

CHAP. XXII.

Proceedings of the British Parliament. Attempted Invasion of Ireland. Campaign in Italy.

A new Parliament had been summoned to meet, which was opened on October 6, 1796. On the motion for the address of thanks in the house of peers, Earl Fitzwilliam observed, that government appeared to depart from the very principle on which all their arguments, at the commencement of the war rested: he acknowledged the splendid victories of the Archduke Charles, and he acquiesced in the idea that we should not depart from supporting our best ally: but he wished to know, if a peace was patched up with the French directory, whether measures were prepared to adopt the national cockade in this country? Whether they were prepared to meet the thousands of French incendiaries that would land in England, to teach the English how to plant the tree of liberty? Whether they were prepared to meet the consequences of dismounting our navy, the grand bulwark of the nation? And whether they were prepared to meet the consequences of the retraction of our land forces? His lordship strenuously contended, that no reliance could be placed on a power whose eternal change produced new systems: it was requisite first, to ascertain if the government was firmly established, ere any ideas of a treaty should be indulged. Lord Grenville, and the Earl of Guildford, combated the arguments of his lordship with great ability.

In the house of commons, Mr. Fox observed, with respect to the proposed negociation with France, that as it was precisely what he had proposed repeatedly in the course of the war; it was impossible not to regret the measure should have been delayed, until after millions of valuable lives had been lost, and millions of money squandered away; he said, it was his opinion, that it was always laudable, and dignified, to make the first overtures: and those who maintained the doctrine, that "to open a negociation is *suing* for peace," would be recommending a perpetual perseverance in war, and depriving mankind for ever of the enjoyment of tranquillity.

He commented most severely on the late bills passed for suppressing treasonable practices.

Mr. Pitt declared, that "the resources, and the physical power of the country, were adequate to curb the ambitious views of the enemy, and to preserve our liberties and independence, or retrieve the losses and expenditure of the war. Adverting to Mr. Fox's language, "You are now doing what we recommended several years ago;" he said, this was a self-evident proposition, and signified, "You must make peace the very day after you go to war, or never make peace at all," a principle which, if adopted by statesmen, would extirpate the human race. Mr. Pitt closed with a grand eulogium on England, whose public spirit, and legitimate resources, ranked her the first among the nations of Europe, and need excite no alarm with respect to present measures, or future security,

In a debate on the *budget* of the minister, Mr. Fox made a speech of considerable point and energy: "Could the resources, or fortune of any country (said he) support a war of which the expences were so incalculable? England had sent twelve hundred thousand pounds to the Emperor of Germany, without the consent of parliament. Much had been said of the gallantry and valor of the house of Austria, but would the conquests and bravery of that house be a security for British property? Nor did the event of this campaign, in which the enemy had secured the important passages of the Rhine, support the claim which the Austrians might be supposed to derive from conquest; and with respect to that mercy which was the concomitant of valor, how had it been exercised towards the Marquis de la Fayette? As to the insufficiency of the French finances, it was a miscalculation, but that was not equal to the preposterous idea of supposing that the campaign would be dull and inactive on the part of the enemy; every man might occasionally be mistaken, but was he to be allowed always to be so? What if such mistakes had cost the country one hundred and fifty millions of money, and rivers of blood! What must be the feelings of those who knew that their mistakes had wasted such a sum of human life and happiness? The mistake of supposing, that when the French made a treaty with the King of Prussia, they were incapable of maintaining the relations of peace and amity? In the de-

claration of the Elector of Hanover, the ministers of that sovereign seemed to join issue with those of Great Britain. If the hypothesis of a great and eloquent writer, (Mr. Burke.) was true, and that the noise of the people prevailed in that house, how had their wish for peace, which since the deposition of Robespierre, was universal, been so long unheard, and the attempt to negociate for peace so long postponed beyond the period when it was certain that we might have obtained better terms than at present?

Mr. Fox, in another speech, animadverted on the application of one million two hundred thousand pounds to the Emperor of Germany, without the sanction, or authority of parliament. The house had lately heard much panegyric on the excellence of the constitution, and of the traiterous designs against it, but the greatest stabs, and the most deadly wounds, had been perpetrated by the ministers of the crown, who had adopted measures in violation of it, and trampled upon the exclusive privileges of parliament. If it was expedient to send money to the Emperor, on satisfying the house of that expediency, it would have been granted; but the transaction was so directly in violation of the constitution, and the right of the Commons of Great Britain, that it had no parallel in the history of the country; the constitution enjoins, that when supplies are wanted, the Commons of England shall be the sole and exclusive judges of the expediency; the power was not, therefore, vested in the executive government, but in the Commons of Great Britain; to maintain the converse proposition, would be equivalent to the argument, that an arbitrary government is preferable to a limited monarchy, and that tyranny is preferable to liberty: the danger of such a transaction was not confined to the present day, it might be urged as a precedent, that in 1796, so far from the supplies being voted by parliament, the minister did not even deign to consult them, and that the minister readily, by sinister connivance, had been enabled to send money to the Emperor. To grant supplies to ministers implicitly, was resigning the power of the public purse, and all controul over their profligacy. The question was, Whether, parliament having given no consent whatever to succours for the Emperor, the house ought to make good the money granted by ministers? He was of opinion, and upon

that opinion he should act, that ministers, in voting succours for the Emperor, without the consent of parliament, were guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor, and a gross violation of the constitution. He was of opinion, that the country would declare the law on that subject; for of all the writings of Paine, or any other man who had been prosecuted for libels, not one was so calculated to bring the government into disrepute, and destroy the constitution, as the conduct of administration.

This philippic of Mr. Fox, occasioned Mr. Pitt to arise under marks of agitation; "I have long been in the habit (said the Chancellor of the Exchequer) of hearing the right honorable gentleman's declamations against the servants of the crown, and the measures they have adopted; it was not the first time, they would recollect, he had made his stand behind the last dyke of the constitution, nor the first time he had predicted the downfall of our liberties, and the ruin of our finances; Mr. Fox had made a declaration, not to sleep another hour until he entered his protest against the adoption of the resolutions he had submitted to the house, alluding to Mr. Fox, and Mr. Grey; the premier exclaimed, "He could not but hope, that were they to '*sleep in their wrath*,' they might relent on their awaking. Mr. Pitt then entered into an ingenious vindication of the sums advanced to the Emperor of Germany; "Whatever (said the minister) may be the event, I trust I shall have no reason to regret the part I have taken; at all events, I had rather be convicted for having used the discretion entrusted to me, in the manner I have, than be acquitted for having withheld the exercise of that discretion, which if I had done, might have been fatal to the interests of the country." Sir W. Pulteney, Mr. Grey, Mr. Curwen, Mr. Harrison, and Mr. William Smith, supported Mr. Fox in his sentiments.

In consequence of the abrupt termination of the negociations at Paris, the following message was delivered from his Majesty to parliament, on January 2: 1797.

"GEORGE R.

"It is with the utmost concern, that his Majesty acquaints the House of Commons, that his earnest endeavors to effect the restoration of peace, have been unhap-

pily frustrated; and that the negociation in which he was engaged, has been abruptly broken off, by the peremptory refusal of the French government to treat, except upon a basis evidently inadmissible; and by their having in consequence, required his Majesty's plenipotentiary to quit Paris within forty-eight hours. His Majesty has directed the several memorials and papers, which have been exchanged in the course of the late discussion, and the account transmitted to his Majesty of its final result, to be laid before the house.

"From these papers, his Majesty trusts, it will be proved to the whole world, that his conduct has been guided by a sincere desire to effect the restoration of peace, on principles suited to the relative situation of the belligerent powers, and essential for the permanent interests of his kingdoms; and the general security of Europe; whilst his enemies have advanced pretensions at once inconsistent with those objects, unsupported even on those grounds on which they proposed to rest; and repugnant both to the system established by repeated treaties, and to the principles and practices which have hitherto regulated the intercourse of independent nations.

"In this situation, his Majesty has the consolation of reflecting, that the continuance of the calamities of war can be imputed only to the unjust and exorbitant views of his enemies, and his Majesty looking forward with anxiety to the moment when they may be disposed to act on different principles, places in the mean time, the fullest reliance, under the protection of Providence, on the wisdom and firmness of his parliament, on the tried valor of his forces by sea and land, and on the zeal, public spirit, and resources of his kingdom, for vigorous and effectual support in the prosecution of a contest, which does not depend on his Majesty to terminate, and which involves in it the security and permanent interests of this country and of Europe."

In the discussion which took place on this most important subject, Mr. Pitt observed, That he presumed every person would concur in sentiments of regret at the sudden termination of the negociation; they were feelings of regret, but unaccompanied with dejection, for there was nothing to regret, but the obstinacy and extrava-

gance of the enemy. Referring to the instructions with which Lord Malmesbury was furnished, he said, "The establishment of some basis became expedient to simplify and facilitate the complicated labyrinth of negociation; a basis of mutual compensation, and mutual concession; it was our object and duty to propose; we had little to ask for ourselves immediately, but much for our allies, and the compensation was to be made out of the advantages which the valor and exertions of this country had wrested from the enemy. Before the directory produced their counter-project to the basis, founded as it was on reasonable, adequate, and just terms; and at this stage of the business, our ambassador received a requisition to deliver his ultimatum." Mr. Pitt then enumerated the substance of the topics discussed between Lord Malmesbury and M. Delacroix, with appropriate comments.

Mr. Erskine had risen to make some observations on the subject, by way of amendment to the address moved by Mr. Pitt, but being suddenly indisposed, the task devolved on Mr. Fox; he vehemently asserted, that England was in a worse situation by the continuance of the war, than when it was first engaged, two hundred and fifty millions of money had been expended, and many millions of lives sacrificed; a greater effusion of blood, havoc, and devastation, had not taken place since the days of Alexander. Mr. Fox closed with moving an amendment to the address.

Mr. Dundas expressed himself with considerable warmth, he declared, that he had never yet heard so mischievous a speech in that house; he thought it singular, that the honorable gentleman should entitle himself the profered advocate of the people of England; why he took that appellation, or how it was conferred upon him, he was at a loss to determine; truly he had been in the habit, for many years, of finding fault with every administration *of which he was not a member*; and of advertising himself as the only man in the kingdom, fit to hold the reins of government; it was clear, that he did not contend for a change of measures, as a change of men; indeed he had approached nearly to a wish for a change of government. With regard to Belgium, Mr. Dundas conceived, that to appropriate in some measure the value of that country, so far back as the

reign of Henry the Fourth of France, it was held out in a negociation then pending, "that one acre of land in Belgium, was equal in value to any province in France;" he, therefore, as well as his colleagues, were of the same opinion; and, therefore, the *sine quæ non*, of the negociation, was, that the King of Great Britain, could never see the Netherlands in the hands of the French.

In the House of Peers, Lord Grenville entered into a long dissertation on the late negociation, in which he condemned, in very strong terms, the conduct of the directory; insisting that France had not the smallest idea of making peace; and that the demand of an ultimatum at the commencement of a negociation, was a full proof of the fact. The preservation of the balance of power depended on the Netherlands, and if that demand of the directory was acceded to, it would be throwing ourselves at the feet of France, and soliciting her not only to dictate to England, but to every other power in Europe. The Earl of Guildford asserted, in reply, that ministers never had any serious intentions of peace, and that the question was simply, Whether this country should, or should not, fight for the restoration of the Netherlands to the Emperor? The Earl of Derby argued on the same ground as Lord Guildford, making an additional observation, that the war was the ruin of the country; and that in Birmingham, out of six thousand houses, four thousand were untenanted. Lord Auckland absolutely denied that Birmingham was injured by the war, but, in consequence of its operations, received considerable *benefit*; his lordship justly and emphatically said, that *war* was *always beneficial* to the *manufacturers of Birmingham*. In the course of this debate, Earl Fitzwilliam contended, that England could never make peace with France, until a king was placed on the throne, and religion and morality restored.

The government of Ireland had acted with a laudable degree of activity in the precautionary measures which had been taken for securing the tranquillity of the kingdom. The executive directory of France was equally on the alert in the measures adopted for co-operation with the Irish rebels; a French fleet, consisting of eight two-deckers, and nine other vessels of different classes, anchored in Bantry Bay, on December 24, and remained there until the 27th; an officer and seven men were dri-

ven on shore, in a boat belonging to one of the French ships, and were immediately made prisoners. This fleet upon leaving Brest, consisted of about fifty sail, having an army of 26,000 men, under the command of General Hoche; some part of the fleet was seen off the mouth of the Shannon; both divisions, however, quitted their stations without making a landing. The best spirit was manifested by his Majesty's regular and militia forces; when the flank companies of the Antrim regiment were formed, the whole regiment turned out to a man, with expressions of the greatest eagerness to march; and at this time the weather was extremely severe: in the town of Galway, which for a short time was left with a very inadequate garrison, the zeal and ardor of the inhabitants and yeomanry was peculiarly manifested; in short, the prevalent disposition of the people throughout the south and west, was so loyal and patriotic, that if the enemy had landed, their hope of assistance from the inhabitants would have been disappointed; noblemen and gentlemen of the first property vied in exerting themselves at the head of their corps; in Cork, Limerick, and Galway, they took the duty of the garrison, men worth three or four thousand pounds a year, were employed in escorting baggage waggons and carrying expresses; in Dublin, the corps were formed of the most respectable barristers, attornies, merchants, gentlemen, and citizens. An useful impression was made on the minds of the Catholics by Dr. Moylan, the titular Bishop of Cork.

When the Irish parliament met, January 16, a message was delivered to both houses by the Lord Lieutenent, in which he noticed the failure of the negociation with France, and adverted to the late appearance of an hostile fleet, which had been dispersed by the interposition of Providence in their favor; an interposition calculated to call forth sentiments of the most sublime gratitude in the mind of every good subject. The message also stated the feelings of his Majesty at the universal and energetic spirit of loyalty which was so generally manifested throughout the kingdom, and recommended to parliament the consideration of the state of the country, and to provide for the necessary and extraordinary expences of the war. Mr. Grattan moved an amendment in the House of Commons on an address to his Majesty, namely, that the house felt the highest confidence in his 1797.

Majesty's wishes for the restoration of peace, and his solicitude for the safety of Ireland, but could not implicitly concur, that his Majesty's ministers had been serious in their negociations for that object with France, or that the naval force of Great Britain, had been exerted on the late alarming occasion, with due vigilance or activity for the protection of that kingdom: this motion was negatived by a majority of 90 to 7. The house also moved an address to the Lord Lieutenant, that he would be pleased to issue his proclamation for a day to be appointed for a solemn thanksgiving to Almighty God, for his signal providence, in the destruction of the enemy's fleet; and the discomfiture of their intended invasion.

The following is a list of the ships composing the Brest fleet, for the invasion of Ireland, commanded by Admiral Morard de Galles.

Squadron commanded by Rear Admiral Bouvet:

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Ships.*	*Guns.*
Le Nestor,	74	La Concorde,	40
Le Cassard,	74	La Bravoure,	40
Les Droits de L'Homme, (1)	74	L'Immortalite,	40
Le Thurville,	74	La Bellone,	40
L'Eole,	74	La Mutine,	18
Le Pegase,	74	La Renard,	16

Squadron commanded by Admiral Morard de Galles

L'Indomptable,	80	La Fraternite,	40
Le Fougueux,	74	La Romaine,	40
Le Mucius,	74	La Syrene,	40
Le Redoubtable,	74	La Tortue, (2)	40
Le Patriote,	74	L'Atlante, (3)	20
La Revolution,	74	Le Voitguer,	16
La Coquille,	40		

Squadron commanded by Rear Admiral Nielly:

Le Seduisant, (4)	74	L'Impatiente, (6)	40
Le Pluton,	74	La Resolue,	40
La Constitution,	74	La Survillante, (7)	40
Le Trajan,	74	La Charante,	40
Le Wattignies	74	L'Affrouteur,	16
Le Scola, (5)	Rase	Le Ventour,	16

(1) Driven on shore in Hodierne Bay, by the Indefatigable and Amazon frigates. (2) Taken by the Polyphemus. (3) Taken by the Phœbe frigate. (4) Lost coming out of Brest. (5) Foundered. (6) Run on the rocks off Bantry Bay, and all the crew but seven perished. (7) Scuttled in Bantry Bay, but the crew were saved.

Transports.

Le Suffren, (8)	La Ville de L'Orient, (40)
Le Nicomede,	L'Allegre, (11)
La Justine, (9)	L'Experiment,
Le Patriote,	Le Lazare Hoche.

(8) Taken by the Jason, but retaken by the Tortue; she was afterwards taken by the Majestic, and sunk. (9) Taken by the Polyphemus, but afterwards sunk, and the crew were lost. (10) Taken by the Druid. (11) Taken by the Spitfire.

The appointment of the Archduke Charles to the command of the Austrian army, occasioned a great change in the issue of the campaign. His Highness gained a great victory over the French, commanded by General Lefevre, who was posted in front of the heights above Hermanstein: nothing could surpass the steadiness and intrepidity with which the Austrian and Saxon troops acted, in driving the enemy from his position; the approach of night alone put an end to this brilliant affair; General Lefevre was wounded, and the loss of the French was exceeding great; that of the Austrians and Saxons amounted to above five hundred men, including several officers. General Jourdan immediately raised the blockade of Ehrenbreitstein, and recrossed the Rhine. General Kray, on June 19, 1796, drove the French, commanded by General Kleber, from the heights of Kirpen; in this affair the French had more than double the force of the Austrians; General Kray lost near six hundred men, and the enemy had seven hundred taken prisoners, and many hundreds killed.

General Moreau being entrenched in the position of the Murg, at Rastadt, Kirpenheim, and Gertzbatch, as the Archduke was making dispositions to attack him, on the 9th of July, the French attacked the Austrian General Keim, who was obliged to retire to Pfortzheim; the Aus-

trians lost sixteen hundred men, and four pieces of cannon. The French now crossed the Lahn. On the 18th the French attempted to dislodge the Austrians from their position at Statgard, in which they succeeded, by making themselves masters of the commanding ground on the Prince of Lichtenstein's right flank, as he had not troops enough to occupy it in sufficient force: General Devay arriving with a large reinforcement, defeated that part of the French troops which had got possession of the heights where the Prince of Lichtenstein had been posted; the Archduke Charles then attacked in front, and the action terminated in favor of the Austrians, who, notwithstanding, lost nine hundred men. His Royal Highness now crossed the Neckar, and encamped at Felbach.

General Wartinsleben was attacked by Jourdan, at Friedberg, and lost several hundred men. On August 5, the French attacked the advanced posts commanded by Prince John of Lichtenstein, near Kircheim, but were repulsed, with the loss of above two hundred men taken prisoners, and a great number left dead on the field. On the 11th, the Archduke determined to make an attack upon the army of Moreau: an advanced guard, commanded by the Prince of Lichtenstein, supported by a small corps under General Nauendorf, was to march from the camp of Mettingen, along the road that leads from Nordlingen to Norsheim, and endeavor, by manœuvering to the enemy's left flank, to dislodge them from the heights of Unenheim: the rest of the main army was to assemble at Forcheim, Aufhausen, and Amerdingen, from whence it was to march in three columns, that of the right under General Hotze, that of the centre under the Prince of Furstenberg, and the left under General De la Tour, and attack the enemy's centre and right, whilst General Reise, strengthened by part of General Frolich's corps drove them from the neighbourhood of Laningen, and marched towards Giengen, and Haydenhiom, in order to come into the rear of General Moreau's position: this latter movement was to be covered on its right by a small intermediate corps under General Mercanton, who was to preserve the communication between General Reise and the main army; as the enemy had a great superiority of numbers, it was resolved to attack by surprise, and for this purpose the marches were so arranged, that

the columns were to be formed on the different points from whence they were to advance just before day-break, and proceed immediately; however, a most violent storm, which lasted several hours, made the night so extremely dark, and the roads so bad, that the troops and artillery were above double the time they otherwise would have been, in performing their movements, and, therefore, the attack was necessarily deferred until seven o'clock; this enabled the French to discover the whole plan, and prepare for their defence.

Notwithstanding so unfortunate a circumstance, his Royal Highness persevered in his resolution; the three columns of the troops were successful in dislodging the enemy's advanced guards from the woods, but the column that marched towards Umanheim, finding itself taken in flank by General Moreau's reserve, was obliged to retire; this laid General Hotze's right flank open, and forced him also to retreat, but the Prince of Furstenberg, and General De la Tour, maintained their ground: as the Archduke was making his depositions for strengthening, and bringing forward his right again, he received intelligence from General Wartinsleben, purporting that he was obliged to retire to Amberg, and that a column of General Jourdan's army had already arrived at Nuremberg, for the purpose of immediately co-operating with General Moreau; he, therefore, judged it expedient to suspend the attack. The Austrians lost on this occasion from twelve to fifteen hundred men: the French above two thousand in killed and wounded, and more than twelve hundred taken prisoners.

On August 12, the main body of the Austrian army of the Upper Rhine, passed the Danube, at Donawert. In consequence of the operations of the Archduke, Jourdan was compelled to make a precipitate retreat towards Forcheim. On August 30, Jourdan's army crossed the Maine, at Baltsar; and on the 31st, the Archduke entered Bamberg. On September 3, Jourdan having encamped near Kornach, resolved to advance the event of a battle: General Starray, in the mean time, consulted with the Archduke, and it was agreed to make a combined attack on the French army: soon after day-break, General Staray advanced, and drove back the posts of the enemy, but was obliged soon to relinquish his ground, and with difficulty was enabled to keep his own position;

at this critical moment his Royal Highness sent orders to General Wartensleben, to ford the river with the whole of his cavalry, and advance directly against the French; Jourdan, upon this manœuvre, withdrew from his right the troops engaged with General Starey, who now re-established himself in his post; the cavalry now charged the left of the enemy, and drove it from its ground, the French retiring behind a wood, against which the Austrians advanced; eight battalions of grenadiers gained the wood, without firing a shot, and in a few minutes drove the enemy, not only from the wood, but from the heights beyond it; this advantage, and the appearance of General Kray's column on the right, decided the fortune of the day: Jourdan made no attempt to recover the ground he had lost, but began his retreat on every point. The loss of the Austrians in this affair amounted to eight hundred men; two thousand of the French were taken prisoners, and near that number killed or wounded; one color, six pieces of cannon, and a great number of ammunition and baggage waggons were also taken. The next day the Austrian army crossed the Maine, and encamped at Zell, near Wurzburg, the citadel of which capitulated; General Belmont, and the garrison, consisting of seven hundred men, surrendered as prisoners of war; a prodigious quantity of stores, provisions, and ammunition, was found in the town and citadel.

The progress of the Austrian arms continued to be marked with brilliant and uninterrupted success. The Archduke having quitted his camp at Wurtzburg, and pushed on a strong advanced guard, under the command of General Kray, to secure the debouche of the Spessart, the General arrived in the neighbourhood of Aschaffenburgh, and found the enemy posted to the number of two thousand men, so as to dispute the pass from the forest; after a severe cannonade, he attacked and drove them from their advantageous position, and the cavalry pursued them through the town, and dispersed them in the woods on the other side of the Maine. The loss of the French on this occasion amounted to one thousand men, six hundred of whom were made prisoners. The Archduke marched to Dettingen, and from thence to Wendecken; and the advanced corps of his army occupied the important point of Friedberg. Jourdan

finding that the Archduke was master of Aschaffenbourg, directed his march across the Vogelsberg, towards Wetzlar.

Moreau had attempted to make himself master of the bridge on the Yser, at Munich; after a very obstinate contest, which lasted two days, he was repulsed by the Prince of Furstenburg, with considerable loss. On September 19, General Hotze, in advancing to Hochstebach, had a smart action with the French, in which General Marceau was wounded, and taken prisoner, as also his two aid-de-camps, and his adjutant-general, with a great many men left dead on the field. General Nauendorff having crossed the Danube, below Neuburg engaged the French, and took one piece of cannon, and upwards of one thousand prisoners. The Archduke crossed the Maine, on the 23d, and proceeded to the Upper Rhine. General Petrasch having made an attempt upon Kehl, was at first successful, but in the issue was defeated with great loss. On the other hand, General Frolich advanced to Isny, where he completely defeated the French, taking five hundred prisoners. Moreau in consequence of inauspicious circumstances, was obliged to retreat; he abandoned his position on the Leck and marched, with a very considerable part of his army, towards Ulm. He abandoned Ulm on September 26, having in it a large magazine, and a considerable number of his pontoons, and proceeded along the left bank of the Danube, as far as Erbach, where he again crossed the river, and directed his retreat towards the forest towns. On September 11, the Austrian General Frolich, and the Prince of Furstenburg, made a successful attack on the French forces assembled near Munich, and forced them to a precipitate retreat, with the loss of two thousand men killed and wounded, and fifteen hundred made prisoners: this victory was chiefly decided by a skilful manœuvre of General Hotze, in consequence of which he had effected a passage over the Danube, near Donawerth, with a considerable body of Imperial troops, with whom he vigorously attacked the French corps that was besieging Ingoldstadt, and obliged them to raise the siege with great loss.

The Prince of Conde's corps was stationed at a very great distance from the head-quarters of the Archduke

Charles; his troops were divided on an extremely extensive line. On August 11, the Prince was posted in front of Middleheim, having two advanced corps on the Guntz, that of the right near Erckheim, commanded by the Duke D'Enghein; that of the left at Southeim, under the orders of General Viomenil. On the 12th the French attacked the Duke D'Enghein's corps, and were repulsed; but the superiority of their numbers enabled them to succeed in turning General Viomenil's left, and they, therefore, obliged both these corps to retire to the Prince of Condé's position. The French now advanced in great force close to his Serene Highness's front, and established themselves in the wood and village of Kamlach, and seemed to intend a decisive attack, which the Prince prepared to resist. He placed the centre of his infantry on the heights behind the villages of Upper and Lower Aurback, both of which he occupied; his cavalry was judiciously concealed from the enemy's view. The Duke D'Enghein's corps was posted on the heights in front of the right position; and General Viomenil in the same manner on the left, occupying the road that leads from Southeim to Mindleheim. The Prince of Conde determined to make an attack on the enemy; the right wing, under the Duke D'Enghein, was ordered to carry the village of Lower Kamlach, and to penetrate through the wood, if possible, towards Erckheim; the centre, in two columns, was to attack the enemy in or near the village of Upper Kamlach; and the left under General Viomenil, to advance on the great road to Southeim. The Prince of Condé marched against the enemy on the night of the 12th; the two battalions of *infanterie noble*, composed of French emigrant officers, began their attack on Upper Kamlach; having received the fire of a battalion that occupied the gardens, they immediately pursued it into the village, and arrived at the bridge on the other side of it. Behind this bridge several battalions of the French were regularly formed, and the fire became now so severe, as to render the success of a further attack very uncertain; but the emigrant nobles advanced against the enemy with so much intrepidity, that the latter gave way, and retired into the wood of Kamlach, where they were pursued, and driven out of it. The Duke D'Enghein, after carrying the village of Lower Kamlach, found the woods so strongly occupied as to pre-

vent his advancing, he was, therefore, under the necessity of ordering the different corps to retreat to the position; and on the morning of the 15th the Prince began his retreat to Kildesingen. On the above occasion the Prince of Condé lost seven hundred men, and a great number of officers killed, and several wounded.

General Moreau, having recrossed the Danube at Erbach, on September 26, marched upon Biberach and Schuffenned. On the 29th the advanced guard of General La Tour's corps drove the French out of Biberach, and pursued them to Groth. The Austrians were now in possession of the highest parts of the Black Forest, where the Danube takes its source, as well as those rivulets which, running westward to the Rhine, form the only passes whereby an army can descend from those mountains to the Brisgaw. General Moreau had now, therefore, no other alternative, than either to attempt the dangerous operation of attacking Generals Petrasch and Nauendorf, in order to gain the *Val-de-Enfer*, "The Valley of Hell," which descends into the Brisgaw, by Fribourg; or to take his retreat by the forest towns, and the territory of Swisserland: and finding himself at the same time closely pursued by General La Tour, he determined, by a vigorous attack, to endeavor to give the latter a check, by which he might gain time sufficient to effect his retreat without great loss. On September 30, the advanced guards of Generals La Tour and Mercantin's columns were attacked, in the neighbourhood of Steinhaung, by three divisions of Moreau's army, when an obstinate engagement took place; but General La Tour repulsed them with great loss: the loss of the Austrians amounted to six hundred men, four hundred and twenty of whom were of the Duke D'Enghein's corps. The Prince of Lichtenstein passed the Rhine October 2, and took possession of the posts of Germersheim, the fortifications of which he destroyed, and General Kray drove the enemy out of Neuwied.

General Moreau, on October 2, crossed the Danube at Riedlingen, and repassing it at Munderkingen, returned and defeated the corps which General La Tour had posted betwixt the Feder See and the river. He now hazarded an action, by attacking La Tour in front; and the action was maintained during six hours with the utmost obstinacy, when La Tour was finally obliged to

abandon his ground, and return behind the Riss, and ultimately behind the Rothembach. Moreau made his retreat with astonishing skill, and military science, which excited the admiration of his antagonists; he passed with his army through the Valley of Hell, and arrived at Fribourg; he then occupied Waldkirch, and his posts extended along the heights on the right bank of the Eltz.

On October 19, the Archduke Charles marched his troops from the camp near Kenzingen, distributed into three different columns; the right under General La Tour, was to attack the village of Kindringen; the centre, under General Wartenzleben, was to assail the heights behind Maltentingen; the left under General Petrasch, was to proceed along the road from Heimbarch to Emendingen; while General Merfeld, with one brigade, attacked the woods on his left; and Prince Frederick of Orange, with another, endeavored to pass over the highest part of the mountains, so as to turn the right of the enemy: General Nauendorf had orders at the same time to attack the post of Waldkirch. About noon the action began; the column of the right met with a most obstinate resistance; it was repeatedly repulsed in its attack upon Kindringen, and the success remained for some time doubtful, until his Royal Highness put himself at the head of the grenadiers; when they returned with fury to the charge, and drove the enemy, with great loss, from the village. General Merfeld had great difficulty in driving the enemy from the wood above Keimbach; the ground was disputed inch by inch, nor were the French expelled from it, until the Prince of Orange, after a most laborious march, appeared in the open ground, and began to attack, the victory then became decisive. The French repassed the Eltz at Emendingen and Deningen, destroying the bridges to cover their retreat. General Nauendorf was attacked by Moreau in person, whom he not only repulsed, but drove beyond Waldkirchen, and made himself master of that post, and of the passage of the river.

On the 20th, the van guard of the army, marched to Emendingen; the French having taken a position behind the village of Dentzlingen, the Archduke determined immediately to attack the enemy, and ordered General La Tour to cross the Eltz, at Deningen, whilst

he advanced along the plain towards Frisbourg; the advanced guard of the Archduke's column dislodged the enemy from Dentzlingen, and the Prince of Furstenburg also dislodged the French from Riegel, towards Huningen. During these operations of the main Austrian army, the Prince of Condé, and General Frolich, were extremely active in the mountains; the former drove the French, with very considerable loss, from the strong posts of St. Meyer's, and St. Peter, in the valley of that name; and the latter forced some of the most important passes of the *Val d' Enfer*.

Moreau was resolved to make another effort to maintain himself on the right bank of the Rhine, and, therefore, he took up a position near Schlingen: an uncommon strong situation, and almost impervious from attack. Notwithstanding, the Archduke determined to attack the right wing of the French army, and if possible to dislodge it from the hills above Candern, Fenirbach, Sitzenkirchen, Ober, and Neider Eckenheim; the attack was performed in the following manner: the army was divided into four principal columns, the first commanded by the Prince of Condé, the second by the Prince of Furstenburg, the third by General La Tour, the fourth by General Nauendorf. The Prince of Condé's column assembled at Neuburg, and advanced to Steenstadt, which village was attacked, and carried; the Prince of Furstenburg's column assembled at Mulheim, and advanced towards Schlingen, and took possession of the heights opposite the enemy's position, behind that place; General La Tour's column marched from Negerheim, through Fieldberg, and attacked the enemy in the vineyards, which he was forced to quit, and retire behind Liel; Nauendorf's column attacked the village of Sitzenkirchen, and carried it; the French were also driven from the village of Candern; Moreau's army, at length, retreated across the Rhine at Huningen.

On October 26, Generals Simpschan and Rosemberg, were attacked by two divisions of the army of the Sambre and Meuse; the action lasted several hours, and the assailants were repulsed with loss. After Moreau's army had crossed the Rhine, two divisions of it were detached towards Landau, and one division of the army of the Sambre and Meuse arrived about the same time in the

vicinity of the Kayserslautern; General Hotze was still at Schwergenheim, on the road from Speyer to Landau; on the approach of the French, he retired towards the entrenched camp of Manheim, and established his posts on the Richbach. On November 7, the French attacked his line, and were repulsed. The Austrian army now besieged Kehl, on the right bank of the Kinzig; the French made a sudden attack upon the left wing of the line of contravallation, and after a most severe action, were driven into the works with very great loss. A reinforcement of troops having arrived from Strasbourg, the enemy formed columns of attack close behind the chain of his advanced posts; these columns having secretly advanced, rushed on with the utmost impetuosity, and in an instant gained possession of the two redoubts of the left of the first line. The village of Sundheim was attacked in the same manner, and with equal success; the enemy's right column, after occupying the two works which they had carried, pushed on between the dykes, to attack the left of the second line; but Prince Frederick of Orange, whose gallant and judicious conduct was universally admired, having rallied his brigade, placed a part of his infantry behind the dyke, connecting the third redoubt with the second, and there not only maintained his post, but completely checked the progress of the French in that quarter. General La Tour, who commanded the army of the siege, retook the village of Sundheim; General Staader, retook the redoubt upon the left of Sundheim; and the Prince of Orange advancing between the two dykes, defeated the column with which he had been so severely engaged, and recovered the redoubts. The loss of the Austrians amounted to forty officers, and thirteen hundred men; and the French to near three thousand. The fortress of Kehl surrendered to the Austrian army on January 10, 1797; the French commandant communicated this important event to his government in the following terms:

"By the capitulation agreed upon, the fort of Kehl will be restored to the Austrians this day, at four o'clock in the afternoon. All our artillery has already been formed into a park on the left bank of the Rhine; every soldier carries with him only the palisade which co-

vered him; the enemy will find nothing but ashes and ruins.

"It is thus that the army, after the passage of the Rhine, after rapid conquests, and one of the most skilful retreats, has crowned its brilliant campaign by a defence equally astonishing and glorious.

"The generals, the officers, and soldiers, have displayed in that situation a courage, and a fortitude, that even compelled the enemy to pay them the tribute of admiration which is due to their valor.

"RUDLER."

We shall now proceed to notice the military operations in Italy, from the summer of 1796. General Bonaparte, with an army of twenty-two thousand men, forced the passage of the Mincio, at Valeggio; General Beaulieu ordered the different corps of his army to retire on Castle Nuovo; in their retreat they attacked the French, and took a great many prisoners, and brought off a hundred and fifty horses. The army passed the Adige in perfect order. The greatest exertions were made against Mantua, this determined Field Marshal Wurmser to make dispositions for attacking the French without delay. On July 28, the different corps were assembled at their respective destinations, the army forming four divisions, which were to advance by different passes from the mountains of the Tyrol; the first column under the orders of General Quasdanowich, was to march on to Salo, and Brescia; the second, commanded by General Melas, between the Lake and the Adige, was to force all the enemy's strong posts on Monte Baldo; the third was ordered to march under the command of General Davidowich, by the great road from Alla, and being separated only by the Adige from the second division, was to support that; the fourth column was commanded by General Mezaros, who was ordered to turn the enemy's right flank, by marching from Bassano on Legnano.

Early on the 29th, the French were attacked on their whole line of posts, and were every where driven in. General Quasdanowich took one thousand prisoners at Salo, and marched on to Brescia; Melas attacked the post of Farusa, on the summit of Monte Baldo, covered by an immense ravine, his troops crossed with the greatest intrepidity, and drove the enemy from the intrench-

ments, batteries, and redoubts. A part of his division attacked with equal courage and success, the narrow pass of Brentino, between the mountain and the Adige; the artillery of the third division supported this attack from the left bank of the river; and General Sepotendorff forced the important post of Rivoli, where the enemy's batteries commanded the passage of the river. In these attacks nine pieces of cannon, and fifteen hundred men were taken. On the 20th, the two centre divisions being united, continued their march, in different columns, on to Castle Nuovo, and Peschieras, and the French were again driven with great loss from their strong positions, and retreated by Peschiora: Major General Spiegel entered Verona, which the enemy abandoned. On the 31st, General Pittoni occupied Villa Franca, and General Bonaparte retreated across the Po, and the Mincio; they were persued by the Imperial army, who took six hundred prisoners, and all their cannon and mortars, amounting to one hundred and forty, with one hundred and ninety thousand shells and balls, and great quantities of other stores of all kinds. General Liptaye, was dispatched on August 2, to Castiglione delle Severe, from which place he was forced to retire, and was nearly surrounded on the heights near Tolforino: an action took place, the Imperial troops maintaining their ground till night put an end to the combat. The French army advanced by St. Martino, towards Medoli, threatening the rear of the left wing of the Imperial army, which extended into the plain; the French soon began an attack on the high ground, and some of the battalions of the right wing having given way, fell in with those of the left wing, not yet posted; this created confusion, and obliged Field Marshal Wurmser to retreat to Valeggio.

After the second operation, undertaken for the relief of Mantua, those corps of Marshal Wurmser's army which could not penetrate, retired, the one under General Quasdanowich, to the Venetian Frioul; the other, under General Davidowich, up the valley of the Adige, towards Neumarket. These corps being reinforced, General Alvinzsky was appointed to command the whole of the army, until it should effect its re-union with Marshal Wurmser. On November 3, upon the approach of part of General Alvinzsky's advanced guard, the enemy aban-

doned Castel Franco; and on the 4th, the Austrian corps advanced to the Brenta, and took possession of Bassano; Alvinzsky found the French army encamped in three lines in front of Vicenza; as he was on the point of pushing forward his advanced guard, Bonaparte commenced a most severe attack upon the whole line; the action began with General Proveza's corps, and shortly after the French advanced to Bassano. Night, at length, put an end to the action, without either party having gained or lost any ground; the French retreated in the morning toward Litiera. General Davidowich had, in the mean time, driven back the corps opposed to him, and made a thousand prisoners, and had taken possession of Trente. The same day on which General Alvinsky had been engaged with the French on the Brento, General Davidowich attacked the enemy in the strong pass of Caliano, a little to the northward of Rovoredo; they had entrenched their position, and occupied in considerable force the castles of Bassano, and La Pietra. The General attempted to drive them from their position; the corps on the right of the Adige, established batteries on the heights of Nomi, which fired with considerable effect; the troops on the left side of the river attacked the castles and intrenchments with persevering bravery, and the enemy was, at length, completely defeated, with the loss of five cannon, eight ammunition waggons, and a thousand prisoners. General Davidowich lost four hundred men, in killed, wounded, and missing.

After the action near Bassano, the French continued to retreat, and abandoned even the strong position of Monte, without resistance, and crossed the Adige at Verona. On November 11, General Alvinzy arrived near Villa Nova; and the same evening, a considerable part of the French army, commanded by Bonaparte in person, advanced from Verona, and took post in the neighbouring mountains: on the following day, Bonaparte commenced a general action, attacking the whole line; whilst he was endeavoring to force the front of the position, General Alvinzy detached a column against each of his flanks; no sooner had these arrived at the point of attack, than the enemy retreated with precipitation, and a most severe, and important affair, was terminated in favor of the Austrians: two French Generals

were wounded, and one made prisoner. A few days after, General Davidowich attacked, and entirely defeated, the enemy on the heights of Rivoli; the action commenced at seven in the morning of November 17. and, after a most obstinate resistance, the French were entirely driven from their position, and pursued as far as Cambara; Davidowich took twelve cannon, near eleven hundred prisoners, and many officers, among whom were Generals Florella and Valette. Having received some considerable reinforcements, the French again encamped on the heights near Cambara, when General Davidowich attacked them in that position, and drove them back beyond Peschiera. On November 29, General Field Marshal Wurmser made a successful sortie from Mantua, and killed near four thousand of the enemy.

The Pope had been greatly alarmed by the menaces of the French, with whom he had been obliged to make so humiliating a treaty, and his holiness appeared indisposed to comply with them. At this period, General Bonaparte addressed a letter to the Archbishop of Ferrara, to transmit to the Pope, which was as follows:

"To overturn the temporal power of the Pope, I have no more to do, than to will it. Repair to Rome, see the holy father, undeceive him respecting his true interests; deliver him from the intriguers that surround him, who wish for his destruction and that of the city of Rome. The French government once more permits me to offer propositions of peace. All may yet be settled; war, so cruel to the people, is followed with terrible effects to the vanquished; save the Pope from the extremity of misery. You know how desirous I am to terminate by peace a contest, which has for me neither danger nor glory. In your mission M. Le Cardinal, I wish that success which the purity of your intention deserves.

"BUONAPARTE."

The conduct of the Pope on receiving this remonstrance, we shall hereafter notice.

CHAP. XXIII.

Debates in the British Parliament. Mr. Fox's Motion for a Censure on Ministers. General Fitzpatrick, on the Release of the Marquis La Fayette. Capture of the Cape of Good Hope. Capture of Amboyna, and Banda.

On December 14, 1796, Mr. Fox made his promised motion relative to the sums transmitted to the Emperor of Germany, without the authority of parliament; he said, that on other occasions he had frequently adverted to this subject, which he was now resolved to make the subject of a specific motion. Valuing as he did the British constitution, he should assert rather than argue with respect to the grounds; they were no other than these: That this is a limited, and not an arbitrary monarchy; and that it was the peculiar province of the House of Commons to judge of the expences of the state, in granting sums to his Majesty for special purposes; this was the principle he meant to assert: as for votes of credit, and extraordinaries, those expedients were not strictly constitutional, and ought to be reduced to the smallest possible compass. In support of this principle Mr. Fox read several extracts from "the proceedings of parliament." † In that publication, votes of credit were represented as a mischievous exception from the constitution, only to be justified by "fatal necessity." Having made these preliminary remarks, Mr. Fox considered the subject in two points of view. First, Whether the expence was fit at all to have been incurred? And secondly, admitting the expence to have been fitly and wisely incurred, Whether it ought to have been applied without the previous consent of parliament? The first question he should leave entirely out of consideration, and limit his observations to the second. The first sum Mr. Fox animadverted upon, was that transmitted for the service of the army under the Prince of Condé. When we had openly raised and supported emigrant corps, why should not the specific appropriation be mentioned? It appeared

† By Mr. Hatsell, Clerk of the House of Commons

that money, to the extent of 200,000*l.* had been transmitted! Was it out of the vote of credit of 1795? No, it was defrayed out of the vote of credit for 1796; examine, said he, this vote of credit, and it will appear, that it is for services prospectively, for defraying "such sums as may hereafter be required, and not provided for by parliament." Ministers, in violation of their duty, and in contravention of law, did transmit money to the Emperor. This could be only done under the brilliant success of the Austrian arms, with a view to establish a precedent for setting aside the authority of parliament, and that principle of the constitution which makes the House of Commons the sole judges of the expediency, and distribution of supplies; or the minister thought himself a better judge of propriety and expediency than the House. Would that House suffer a minister to say, that he was a better judge of the prerogative of the crown, and the privileges of parliament? The next topic on which Mr. Fox descanted was, the loan of four millions six hundred thousand pounds to the Emperor. The advocates for that loan expatiated on the honor and punctuality of the house of Austria, but it now appeared that England had lent the court of Vienna, a sum exceeding three times the interest. He now remarked upon the gigantic strides which the crown was making on the privileges of the House, and on the liberties of the people, in consequence of the vast increase of revenue, the creation of a new species of treason, the cruel punishments inflicted on offences not of an aggravated nature, the enormous military establishments, and in addition to these engines of power, if the executive government appropriated the public money, where did there remain the smallest safeguard for preserving the constitution? With respect to the vote of credit, it had a prospective operation: but even if it had not, the money had not been applied to the specific purpose. If such a defence was set up, ministers were equally culpable, and incurred an aggravation of the offence. He would move for no act of indemnity, he would not support any proposition to that effect; the only course which that House could take was, to declare its sentiments, plainly and decidedly, on the transaction. Mr. Fox then moved a resolution to the following effect:

"That his Majesty's ministers having transmitted va-

rious sums of money to his Imperial Majesty, and the Prince of Condé, without the consent of parliament, have acted contrary to their duty, and in violation of the constitutional privileges of this House."

Mr. Harvey Christian Combe, one of the aldermen of London, seconded the motion, in a speech of great length; he said, to the repeated drains of specie to the continent, were to be ascribed the great mercantile embarrassments in the city, and the limitation of discounts at the bank.

Mr. Pitt, in reply to the charges brought against him and his coadjutors, conjured the House to suspend its opinion, until he should justify, or, at least, extenuate the transaction adverted to. The facts on which he would ground his defence, were the practice of his predecessors, and the precedents that bore an analogy to the present case. He contended, that it was an acknowledged principle, that all grants should proceed from the Commons, and that all sums are under their controul; but the public service could not be performed, in point of practice, if extraordinaries for unforeseen services were not to be admitted. From the time of King William III. through a succession of reigns, and under various administrations, the uniform practice had been sanctioned, and confirmed, and to arraign that practice, was to calumniate the conduct of every administration since our constitution had maintained its matured and renovated state. A vote of credit was applicable to *any service*, the exigence of affairs might require, the money so appropriated was of an assignable nature, and came within the spirit and letter of a vote of credit. He was aware, that reponsibility did exist for the exercise of a legal discretion given to the executive government, subject to the controul of parliament. To establish the utility and expediency of the late loans, Mr. Pitt adverted to the situation of the hostile armies in July, 1796; the rapid progress of the French into the heart of Germany; and the unfortunate, though heroic, retreat of the Austrian army, marked the expediency of the loan. A favorable turn was immediately given to the tide of affairs; the astonishing victories achieved by the gallant army, and their rapid pursuit of the enemy, demonstrated the utility of the measure. Who would put nine, or, even twelve hundred thousand pounds, in competition with the suc-

cesses produced by British money? Whatever this country had transmitted, it was only *lent*; but even if it had been *given* to a much larger amount, the service had amply repaid us. There was not, he believed, an individual in the country, who did not feel a sympathy in the magnanimity of the court of Vienna. Where (exclaimed Mr. Pitt) is the man to be found, who would not exult in furnishing the sinews of war, which Austria had wielded with so much honor to herself, and interest to an admiring world? With respect to the violation of the privileges of parliament, and the transaction being done under the auspices of the Austrian successes, Mr. Pitt asserted, he had not erected a precedent; the precedent was not attempted to be established under any such phantoms of delusive glory, but from a zeal for the public service, and the good of the country; a zeal which neither hope nor fear should induce him ever to suppress. Had this country, in a state of despondency, yielded to the pressure of calamity, the enemy would have been inspired with confidence, and conquered our ally, to whom we were linked by honor and policy. By continuing our succours, the brave Austrians, who had endured adversity, were induced to continue their efforts, and eventually retrieved prosperity. Mr. Pitt then quoted a variety of cases to prove, that money had been repeatedly given for the assistance of foreign powers, in votes of credit and extraordinaries. In the reign of King William, when a motion was made, and carried, for the payment of a certain sum advanced to foreign troops, not provided for by parliament. Another instance was in the reign of Queen Anne, when the Whig interest was triumphant; sums were advanced to the Duke of Savoy, to the Emperor, and to the Landgrave of Hesse, without being provided for by parliament. And in the journals of that House was to be found a resolution, instead of a vote of censure on the ministers then existing, couched in the following terms:

"That the money thus advanced by a vote of credit, had not only operated the salvation of Savoy, the necessary support of the Landgrave, and the Emperor, but greatly contributed to the honor of England, and the glory of Europe."

There were other precedents in the reign of George I.

and II. the particulars of which Mr. Pitt enumerated; and so recent as 1787, there were sums advanced by a vote of credit, for the recovery of Holland, not provided for by parliament. He closed an eloquent speech with observing, that he had rather sink under the censure of the House, than have the painful reflection of having sacrificed the interests of his country.

Mr. Sheridan considered the real point to lie in a very small compass. He expressed his surprise that the precedents mentioned should be considered as rules, which could only be exceptions; and if true to the extent stated, could not overcome the constitution. He controverted the statements relative to the sums advanced in the reign of Queen Anne, to the Duke of Savoy, on which one of the pretended precedents was founded, the demand from Savoy was not made when parliament was sitting; and though Turin was then actually besieged, Mr. Secretary Harley had replied, "That it was hardly practicable," to give 50,000*l.* consistently with the constitution of England; nor did the Queen send it without stipulating to deduct it from a subsidy already granted by parliament. The precedent of 1787, was also during the vacation of parliament. Without looking coarsely at the direct means of corruption, What respect was to be had for that minister, under whom juries were reviled, courts of justice declared, by the first pensioner of the crown, to be schools for treason; the military to be separated from their fellow subjects; the mouths of the people stopped; and, at last, the guardianship of the public purse taken from the House of Commons? If the House did not consider it necessary to check this career, he should view the members as not only accomplices in the crime, but partakers in the effect of it.

Sir William Pulteney argued on the same side, insisting that not one of those precedents the minister had adduced, did sanction the giving away the public money without the consent of parliament. The money bills and the mutiny bills, the power of the purse and the sword, were the two pillars of the constitution; and the minister had weakened one of them in a manner which called for some strong disapprobation of the House.

Mr. Pitt was supported by Mr. Bragge, and Aldermen Curtis and Lushington. The motion of Mr. Fox was negatived, by a very large majority.

The protracted captivity of the Marquis La Fayette, had excited a proportionable share of sympathy throughout Europe, with the exception of the country where he was imprisoned. General Fitzpatrick viewed it requisite to direct the attention of the British senate to this subject. He stated, that three years since he had attempted to rouse the public feeling with respect to this officer's sad incarceration. He entered into a full review of the conduct of the Marquis. He deprecated the arresting M. La Fayette upon neutral ground; and contended, that he was neither considered as a prisoner of war, nor a prisoner of state. It might be asserted, that he was the prisoner of an independent state, and, consequently, this country could not interfere. Should that argument be adduced, he was prepared to prove, on the authority of Madame La Fayette herself, that her husband, and his companions, were not the prisoners of the Emperor of Germany. The General next appealed to the feelings of the House, and represented the object of his motion to be the husband of a woman, whose exalted virtues and courage, would command respect from the latest posterity. This woman had no sooner escaped from the merciless prisons of the tyrant Robespierre, from whence she had witnessed her mother, sister, and other relatives, led to the scaffold, than she determined to fly to dungeons still more cruel, to participate in the sufferings of her husband; and to administer those comforts which his situation might require. Previous to her arrival, she had the good fortune to obtain an audience of the Emperor, who manifested the strongest marks of sympathy, and commiseration. He was pleased to grant that part of her request, which related to access to the prison, and consequent confinement, but with respect to the liberation of her husband, the Emperor used this remarkable expression, "This is a complicated business: *my hands are bound.*" These were grounds for asserting, that La Fayette, and his companions, were not prisoners of the Emperor. On her arrival at the gates of Olmutz, the governor of the fortress told her, that her husband was subjected to all the rigors of the dungeon; and assured her, that if she entered she must submit to similar treatment. Her fortitude did not forsake her, she entered, and found her husband, ghastly and emaciated, in rags and tatters, labouring under a pulmonary complaint,

bereft of every thing that could alleviate the horrors of imprisonment, and nearly deprived of air, and the light of heaven. This virtuous woman, who could have interested the feelings of a Nero, or a Claudius, could not obtain of her brutal keepers, the service of a female attendant. Whatever fortitude of mind she might possess, the delicacy of a female frame, unable any longer to withstand the incessant watching, was obliged to yield to pressure of fatigue. She requested permission to go to Vienna for medical relief; after a long interval of three months, the governor communicated the Emperor's pleasure, that if she came without the walls of the prison, she was to return no more. Mark I pray you, (exclaimed General Fitzpatrick,) "The refinement and ingenuity of this cruelty! You have sacrificed your health for the society of your husband, now you shall sacrifice his society for your health!" To the afflicting message delivered to her, she replied, "That she too well knew her duty to her family to accept the alternative; and she was determined to share the captivity of her husband in all its details." The General then read some extracts from a correspondence with Madame La Fayette, written from her dungeon, and called upon the House to convince the world, that the Emperor's hands were not bound up from the exercise of humanity and justice, by this country. The General then moved an address to his Majesty, stating, that the detention of M. De la Fayette, and his three friends, was injurious to his Majesty and the cause of his allies, and praying that his Majesty would intercede for their deliverance, in such a manner as he in his wisdom should judge proper.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Sheridan. Mr. Wilberforce proposed an amendment, which was approved of by General Fitzpatrick, namely, To pray his Majesty to interpose his kind offices for the deliverance of M. De la Fayette.

Mr. Pitt protested, that unless it could be proved, that Great Britain had a concern in the continuance of the sufferings of La Fayette, by the agency of its councils, and a controul over the councils of an independent nation, no communication on the subject ought to pass; neither could this country interfere, on any compact, or principle, in the domestic affairs of other countries. He, however, de-

clared, that he had no share in the detention of La Fayette, and his followers; and that he should chuse it to be made known to the Austrian cabinet, that the government of Great Britain, did not participate in the desire of their imprisonment.

Mr. Fox energetically expressed his sentiments on the subject; he deplored that such an appeal as had been made to the best feelings of human nature, should be answered only by a display of sophistry and chicanery. The letters of Madame La Fayette, and the answer from the cabinet of Vienna, were matters of public notoriety. It had been stated, that interference in the present case would establish a general principle of interference, in all cases. When it answered the minister's purpose, general principles were to give way: whenever the liberty of the subject was to be invaded, general principles were to be regarded as so many nonentities: but when an effort was to be made for the liberty of a meritorious individual, then a general principle was a ground too nice to be touched upon in the smallest degree. It had also been observed, that there was no precedent in point; a sufficient precedent was furnished in his opinion, by the interference of France, in the case of Captain Asgill. The hands of the Emperor could not be bound up by his own means. If it was caused by his allies, the present measure could be the only mode of preserving this country from so shameful a transaction. The King of Prussia had transferred the jailorship of those unhappy persons to Austria: they were in fact the prisoners of the allies. M. La Fayette was no subject of the Emperor; he was not a prisoner at war, according to the law of nations. He had been offered his liberty on condition of his fighting against his country: this he refused, and for this refusal his memory would be embalmed, when that of his crowned, and enthroned oppressors, would perish, and be forgotten. If the Count De Provenes (Louis XVIII.) had been imprisoned in the place of La Fayette, could the allies, not claiming his release, have maintained, with any consistency, their war in favor of royalty? The difference in this case was only in the degree.

Mr. Sheridan having made some sarcastic observations on the secretary at war, Mr. Windham said, That although he had been called upon to unveil a mystery,

the secret had been disclosed by the person who had called upon him. Fayette was held up as the hero of liberty, and this was the real ground of all the feigned appeals to their humanity which had been made to the House. What was the ground, or claim of his individual character? He had visited England in the course of the American war; and went fresh from our hospitable shores to wield the sword against us. But he would consider him as a perfect stranger. In the course of the French revolution, he was one of those who had ultimately risen and fallen; and who were unconscious of the ruin which they provoked, until it fell upon their heads. Mr. Windham was of opinion, that La Fayette was a fair prisoner; he had caused hostilities; and though he had ceased to be an enemy, he did not thereby become a friend. He was taken on neutral ground, but this neutrality was only a protection to residents; it had no reference to hostile operations; nor could it protect a general of the enemy, who, being driven from his army, was flying to some place unknown, and from motives unknown. He then adverted to the events of the 5th and 6th of October, the whole of the outrages committed on those days, he attributed to the conduct of M. La Fayette. He would not say that Fayette wished to destroy the king, and establish a republic; but he had no difficulty in saying, that he was one of the chief instruments in rendering the king a dependent and inefficient monarch, from which proceeded all the calamities that had befallen France. Having, in the first instance, betrayed and ruined his king, and in the next place committed treason against what he termed his lawful and only sovereign, the people, he had subjected himself to the vengeance of both parties; giving an opportunity to his friends to exclaim against the royalists and republicans, as might answer their purpose. He never could consent to advocate the cause of a man, who had contributed so effectually to the overthrow of the laws and constitution of his country; and who, if he now endured sufferings himself, had been the author of infinite calamities to the human race. What his real motives were he knew not, but certain it was, that his conduct had produced immense mischief, and evils so atrocious, that he could not be led to consider him as a fit object of humanity. As well might an appeal to parliament be made in behalf of

the infamous Collot d'Herbois, who had caused thousands of his fellow creatures to be massacred by thousands, at Lyons. Mr. Windham then expatiated on the cruelties exercised by that monster during his mission to that city. He could not separate the case of M. La Fayette, from that of the thousands of human beings who had suffered in consequence of his conduct; more especially as he knew from authority which he could not doubt, that his behaviour, even to the late unfortunate king and queen, had been of the most harsh, savage, and unmanly nature. Her majesty, he had been informed by ladies, who had every opportunity of being well-informed upon the subject, in her dying moments declared, that she forgave every one living, except one man, and that man was M. La Fayette; had it been in her power to have saved M. Barnave from death, she would most gladly have done so; but La Fayette she could not forgive. Mr. Windham then said, that he was at a loss to conceive, why the sufferings of such a man should be attended to, when the recital of horrors occasioned by him, filled their ears? Let us look at the situation of the twenty thousand priests who lingered out a miserable existence in this country; and to the case of the thousands who had suffered at home, in consequence of the conduct pursued by M. La Fayette, and then judge, whether he was a real object of the attention of that House? Even innocent families were not exempt from the lash of the tyranny introduced and established by him; the convents, and other dwellings, of that sex who claimed our protection, were violated and destroyed, for there was not a bit of *nun's flesh* in his composition. He knew of no proceeding more reprehensible than an attempt to acquire the character of humanity at the expence of the sufferings of others. He thought it would be highly impolitic in the Emperor to release M. La Fayette at the present time, for it was more than probable, that if set at liberty, he would not be satisfied to remain quiet, but would be the promoter of fresh revolutions and convulsions. He was decidedly averse to any humanity being extended to him, because he considered him as the cause of incalculable calamities to his country; and he thought it but just, that he should be made an example of to the world, that all men who commenced revolutions, should receive the punishment

due to their crimes. La Fayette was now only called to taste the cup of misery which he had prepared for others; and the exercise of humanity towards him was, in the present instance, checked by the consideration of the ills which he had occasioned to mankind. The subject, indeed, should not be considered as a question of humanity, but of policy and expediency; and he saw no precedent, or example, to justify an interference, particularly in behalf of a man, whose merit, if any he possessed, was that of having pulled down and destroyed the established constitution of his country. To interest ourselves in the smallest degree, in favor of such a man, would be to hold out an encouragement, and to offer premiums to the promoters and encouragers of all revolutions.

The amendment proposed by Mr. Wilberforce was negatived by a majority of 82.

The Dutch having fitted out a fleet for the recapture of the settlement at the Cape of Good Hope, nine ships appeared off that coast, on August 3; which circumstance General Craig immediately communicated to Admiral Sir George Keith Elphinstone. On the 6th instant, the enemy's fleet anchored in Saldanha Bay. General Craig made every requisite arrangement for the safety of Cape Town; and having left General Doyle in command of the troops in and about that place, and General Campbell in command of the town, he proceeded at the head of the advanced guard, consisting of the light infantry, and a body of Hottentots, and fifty of the 25th light dragoons, assisted by Brigadier-general Mackenzie. The British Admiral, on receiving the first accounts of the Dutch fleet, being in Saldanha Bay, put to sea with the utmost expedition, and with all his sail crowded, advanced with a fair wind to the mouth of the harbour.

One of the enemy's frigates, which lay near the shore to cover their watering, began a heavy cannonade; and as the troops descended the heights, some shells were thrown with great effect and precision, which, probably, would have destroyed the frigate, but the English fleet being descried entering the bay, and that there was no possibility of her escaping, the troops desisted from firing. General Craig soon afterward received a letter from Sir G. K. Elphinstone, that the whole of the Dutch fleet had surrendered to him. The Dutch fleet was com-

manded by Rear Admiral Engelbertus Lucas, and consisted of the following ships:

Ships.	*Commanders.*	*Guns.*	*Troops.*
Dordrecht,	Rear Admiral Lucas,	66	370
Revolution,	Captain Rhnebendd,	66	400
Ad. Tromp.	Valkenburg.	54	280
Casthor,	Clarisse,	44	240
Braave,	Zoetmans,	40	230
Bellona,	Valk,	28	130
Sirene,	De Cerf,	26	136
Havik,	Bezemer,	18	74
Maria, storeship.			
		342	1972

The ships were all coppered, and in good condition.

The English fleet consisted of the following ships:

	Guns.		
Monarch,	74	Vice-Admiral Sir G. K. Elphinstone.	
Tremendous,	74	Rear-Admiral Thomas Pringle.	
America,	64	Commodore John Blankett.	
Stately,	64		*Guns.*
Ruby,	64	Sphynx,	24
Sceptre,	64	Moselle,	16
Trident,	64	Rattlesnake,	16
Jupiter,	50	Echo,	16
Crescent,	36	and the Hope sloop of war.†	

Rear-Admiral Rainer was eminently successful in his operations in the eastern seas. He took possession of the islands of Amboyna, and Banda, with their several dependencies, comprising the whole of the Dutch islands, excepting Fortune, yielding cloves, nutmegs, and mace. Amboyna, and its dependencies, were delivered up on the 16th of February; and Banda, with its dependencies, on the 8th of March. The Admiral found in the treasury at Amboyna, 81,112 rix-dollars; and in store, 515,940 pounds weight of cloves. In the treasury at Banda, 66,475 rix-dollars, and in store, 84,777 pounds of nutmegs, and 19,587 pounds of mace; besides merchandise and stores at each place, of great value.

† London Gazette, Nov. 3, 1796.

CHAP. XXIV.

Proceedings in the British Parliament. Military Operations in Germany. Earl of St. Vincent's Grand Naval Victory.

WHILE France, since the commencement of the revolution, had experienced continued changes in its political constitution, the scenes alternately shifting as each fancy led; a continual prey to factions hostile to each other; the cabinet of Great Britain was under the controul of a minister whose influence was greater than that of any of his predecessors, since the elevation of the house of Hanover to the British throne. Mr. Pitt also was placed at the helm at an unexampled crisis, when the torch of discord lighted up a flame which desolated Europe. None of the wars of ancient times were so tremendous as those resulting from the French revolution. Yet, while the plains of Europe were deluged with blood; while whole towns and cities were involved in one general scene of ruin, Great Britain was in a state of internal peace and security: she heard the distant tempest roar; she heard the horrid yell of war; she saw thousands of trembling fugitives land upon her happy shores, who had thus escaped the axe of the guillotine, or, the more horrible sufferings inflicted by an infuriated mob. Yet, amidst the general convulsion of states and empires, England preserved her glory abroad, and enjoyed happiness at home. There were, notwithstanding, a great number of persons in the British senate, and out of it, who disapproved of the war; and opposed vehemently the protracting of it. In the lower house, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Sheridan, were most conspicuous in the efforts they made to induce the premier, and his colleagues, to make a pacification with France. In the house of peers, the Dukes of Bedford and Grafton, acted in a similar manner. Upon a motion by Lord Grenville, for an address of thanks to the King, in consequence of a royal message with respect to the want of a loan to the Emperor of Germany, the Duke of Bedford stated, that though he did not wish to oppose the address, yet he wished to have it understood, that he did not approve of pecuniary assistance to the Emperor

being granted to *any amount*, or, to be granted in *any manner*, that ministers might wish to adopt; on the contrary, he deemed the late conduct of ministers, in this respect, to be highly reprehensible. This was not merely his own opinion, but it was the sentiment of the public in general, that ministers in sending money to the Emperor in the manner they lately had done, without the consent of parliament, was highly culpable.

His Grace the Duke of Bedford, introduced a motion in the house of peers, early in 1797, similar to that of Mr. Fox, at the close of the preceding year, for the passing of a vote of censure on ministers. The Duke, in an eloquent speech of considerable length, entered into a discussion of the leading events of the war; the immense sums which had been wantonly lavished in the prosecution of it; and the oceans of blood which had been shed. He commented with great severity on the loans which had lately been advanced without the knowledge, or permission, of parliament, to the Emperor Francis.

In this debate, the Duke of Grafton † took an active

† AUGUSTUS HENRY FITZROY, late DUKE OF GRAFTON, was an immediate descendant of the royal house of Stuart, in the person of King Charles the Second, by the Duchess of Cleveland. His Grace was born 1736. He received the elementary principles of his education at Hackney, under the late Dr. Newcombe; from whence he was sent to the University of Cambridge, and entered of St. Peter's College. In 1756, he was appointed a Lord of the Bedchamber to his present Majesty, while Prince of Wales; and was the same year elected Member of Parliament for Boroughbridge, in Yorkshire; and afterwards for St. Edmondsbury, in Suffolk. Upon the decease of his grandfather, in 1757, he succeeded to all the family honors and estates. After visiting the continent, he was appointed, in 1765, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, which he resigned the year following. He was then nominated to be First Lord of the Treasury, which part he maintained four years. In 1771, he was appointed Lord Privy Seal, in which department he continued until 1775; and was restored to the same office in 1782. Upon the accession of his present Majesty, the Duke of Grafton was in opposition to the influence of John Earl of Bute; but upon the retirement of that nobleman, he joined administration under the patronage of the Duke of Cumberland. Mr. Wilkes at this time was acquiring a high degree of popularity by his bold opposition to the measures of government: thinking himself slighted by the Duke, with whom he had been in habits of intimacy, the latter was attacked virulently by the former, who designated him as "a tool of Lord Bute." But his Grace had a more formidable antagonist to cope with; this was the celebrated, and as *yet unknown Junius;* he wielded the pen of his gigantic genius with wonderful adroitness against his Grace. His satire was more cruel than that of Archilochus. The Duke at this time was well known at Newmarket, and at White's, a famous gambling-house; on this subject he was most pointedly attacked by that illustrious writer.

part. His Grace contrasted the situation of Britain before and after the contest with France; he described her, in respect to foreign relations, as "stript of, or deserted by, every ally on the continent, that could bring any essential aid." While, in regard to our interior economy, he asserted, "That the Bank of England had received a wound in spite of the repeated representations of the directors on the subject, on the mischief which must arise from the immense quantity of bullion exported by, and the large sums advanced to, government; together with a blot, which all the waters of Lethe will never be able to expunge, in consequence of the order of council for stopping money payments." After lamenting the millions of money, and the streams of blood, la-

The Duke had sacrificed at the shrine of beauty: a fair votary of the Paphian goddess, the celebrated Miss Nancy Parsons, became the *chere amie* of his Grace. Alluding to this circumstance, during a time when there had been some electioneering tumults, Junius pointedly observes, "While prime minister of Great Britain, he reposes in rural retirement, and in the arms of faded beauty; losing all memory of his sovereign, his country, and himself." The Duke, for a long time, enjoyed the powerful support of the great Chatham; but that nobleman subsequently withdrew his patronage from him. It cannot be denied, but that the administration of the Duke of Grafton was very unpopular, and marked with no traits of brilliant political science. When the dispute took place between Great Britain and her American colonies, his Grace opposed the stamp act with great energy, and was one of those peers who declared warmly in favor of its repeal. In 1768, the Duke of Grafton was elected Chancellor of the University of Cambridge; on his installation, Gray composed the inauguration ode, in which he paid a refined and elegant compliment to the new Chancellor. The prosecution of the war with France, the Duke ever deprecated as injurious to the interests of his country. His Grace, although *Chancellor of the University of Cambridge*, was *an avowed Unitarian*, and regularly attended divine service at the chapel in Essex-street, Strand, under the successive ministry of the Rev. Theophilus Lindsay, Dr. John Disney, and the Rev. Thomas Belsham. The latter gentleman, has given the following delineation of his Grace's theological opinions: "He was a firm believer in the Christian revelation, upon the evidence of miracles, and especially the miracle of our Lord's resurrection. As long as he was able to go abroad, he was a most regular, and exemplary attendant upon public worship; and to the forms of the established liturgy, when *purified according to the plan of Dr. Clarke, and M. Lindsay*, from the errors with which, with respect to the sole object of worship, *it is disfigured*, he was firmly attached."‡ His Grace died March 14, 1811, aged 75 years. The Duke of Grafton was twice married, first to the Honorable Miss Liddell, from whom he was afterward divorced, by whom he had three sons, and a daughter; and secondly, to Miss Worsley, daughter of the Rev. Sir Richard Worsley, Dean of Windsor, by whom he had issue thirteen children.

‡ Mr. Belsham's Letter, in Monthly Magazine, Vol. iii. p. 340.

vished away in St. Domingo, his Grace, adverted to Ireland, and declared, that kingdom to be in so critical a state, "That unless a reform, a temperate reform, in parliament, and a full emancipation of the Catholics, together with a total change of men, took place, some fatal catastrophe was likely to ensue. To prevent that kingdom being subjugated by France, and the greatest of evils extending here, it will be wise (said the Duke) to propose the only effective remedy, which I earnestly recommend to the cool and dispassionate consideration of all your lordships; I mean a radical reform in this country, without which the constitution will slip from under us: and the great and sagacious statesman, (Mr. Fox,) who delivered in another place, that inimitable argument in favor of parliamentary reform, might have added to the names of Machiavel and Montesquieu, that still more revered for wisdom, the name of our Lord Bacon, than whom there was not a more strenuous advocate, for the frequent revisal and correction of all natural institutions; maintaining always that every human fabric, or establishment, was subject to that decay and corruption, which lapse of time would necessarily produce.

"Thus have these ministers, (continued his Grace,) who have hitherto acted without controul, brought the nation from the upper step of its greatness, down, by rapid degrees, to the lowest, where we now stand; and are looking up with doubts, whether we shall possess public or private virtue sufficient to carry us up the steep and rugged hill we have in view, and which must be climbed. Is there any one to whom it need be said, that this chain of disasters can no more have fallen out by chance, and the common fate of war, than the beautiful globe we inhabit could have been produced under an epicurean system by a fortuitous concurrence of an infinity of atoms? No, my lords, let us not condemn chance for our situation, or for our sufferings; the ministers are before you who brought you hither. Some of your lordships may have given your support from laudable motives, but this confidence has proved fatal; and all support given to the same ministers from this moment the public will consider as afforded with open eyes, and, therefore, calculated to involve them equally with the administration, in the guilt of every future fatal project.

"As for myself, (said his Grace,) I solemnly protest, that no consideration the world could offer, would stand in competition with the comfort I feel, that so far from having abetted the pernicious councils which brought on the downfall of the empire; I have, to the best of my little ability, endeavored, by every constitutional means, to prevent them."

Lord Grenville, and Lord Liverpool, argued ably in vindication of the measures which it had been thought expedient to recommend to his Majesty. A large majority of peers voted in favor of ministers.

In opening the campaign of 1797, the French, who had lately experienced a reverse of fortune in Germany, were determined to make Italy the grand scene of their operations. By order of the directory, the troops that had so greatly distinguished themselves under Moreau, were secretly ordered to march through Savoy into Italy. The court of Vienna being duly apprised of the projects of the directory, ordered the Archduke Charles to take the command of the army of Italy. This eminent commander selected the finest of his veteran troops, which had acquired so much glory on the banks of the Rhine, for military service in Italy. The war now began to assume a new appearance, and never since the commencement of hostilities with Austria, was there an era so momentous, so interesting, or pregnant with such important consequences. The enterprise and genius of Bonaparte was now to experience a trial, in a contest with a general whose profound knowledge of military tactics had been often proudly displayed; and the eyes of all Europe were upon the mighty leaders of the rival armies.

Bonaparte had to follow the route of Hannibal, and to lead his forces across the Alps.† With the undaunted

† This immense chain of mountains, which takes its rise in the vicinity of Toulon, at first stretches northward, under the names of Piedmont and Savoy. It then runs towards the east, into the countries of Switzerland, Tyrol, Carintha, and Cariola. The three last of these, passing along the head of the Adriatic, form the frontier of the hereditary states of Austria. Between the mountains and the sea lies the level tract of territory which belonged to Venice. It is crossed by many large streams, which are fed by the melting snows of the Alps; whence their nature is, that they are greatest in summer, and their waters diminish during the frosts of winter.

resolution of that general, he had not those difficulties to contend with as the son of Hamilcar; yet many and great obstacles had he to overcome. On March 12, the republican troops crossed the river Piava, where some smart skirmishes took place with the Austrians, who, at length, retreated across the Tagliamento, where they halted, and made an apparent disposition to receive the enemy. On the 17th, the French had arrived as far as Valvasone, situate on the opposite bank of the river; it was determined to force a passage in the very face of the Austrian army: this was finally accomplished. Bonaparte commanded the right division of the army, and Massena the centre. Upon the approach of the French, the Austrians made a very feeble stand; and, being defeated, retired with great loss, and the town of Gradisca, on the river Lisonzo, surrendered to Bonaparte; and the garrison, amounting to three thousand men, were made prsoners of war. The Archduke now fell back to Vippach.

The Imperialists were now driven into the hereditary states. Joubert, who occupied the banks of the Adige, attacked the Austrians under Generals Kirpen and Loudon, who were greatly inferior in numbers, and easily defeated: and a series of engagements followed, equally favorable to the French. Kirpen, foiled in all his manœuvres, took up his abode in the strongest position in the Tyrolese. Bonaparte was now enabled by such a combination of fortunate circumstances, to penetrate into the very heart of Germany. Massena, by gaining two passes, to circumvent the Archduke, and gain the start of him, even on the road leading to Vienna: that experienced general was placed in a most critical situation, it required the exercise of singular talent to extricate himself from his perilous situation. He wisely arranged a plan, for turning the left wing of the French, and attacking them in flank. He, therefore, united his left and centre, ordering a division to hasten and coalesce with several squadrons and battalions from the Rhine; unfortunately the admirable plan of the Archduke was disconcerted, and rendered inefficient, by the culpable precipitation of the Austrian General Ocksay, who, disregarding the instructions he had received, abandoned the defile of Pontassel, where he had been posted, which enabled the French to obtain possession of Tarvis, which

commanded the road by which two powerful columns of French troops were expected to arrive. General Gontreuil made a brave defence, but Massena having received reinforcements, the Austrians were defeated, notwithstanding the unparalleled bravery of the Archduke Charles, who was exposed to the utmost danger. General Gontreuil, and Count Wrattislaw, were severely wounded.

The Archduke now divided his army into three corps, one commanded by General Seckendorf; another under the direction of General Mercantin; and the third commanded by the Prince De Recess, and General Kairm. During this time, Bonaparte captured Trieste; and his army was augmented by several divisions under General Serruier. Seckendorf having evacuated Laybach, it was immediately taken possession of by Bernadotte. The event of the campaign, so fatal to Austria, compelled the Archduke to retire under the walls of Vienna. At this eventful crisis, the French General in chief proposed a negociation for peace, in a letter which he addressed to the Archduke; but his Highness returned for answer, "That he was not authorized to enter into any negociation." Bonaparte rapidly pushed forward his conquests, and possessed the whole country of Carinthia, and entered into Styria. On April 7, he arrived at Judenburgh, where he was met by the Austrian Generals Bellegarde and Meerfeldt, with whom an armistice was entered into for six days.

In the Tyrolese the Imperial forces had been joined by the brave inhabitants, which had enabled General Kerpin to obtain considerable advantages over the French, and ultimately to drive them from the German Tyrole. General Loudon also drove the French from various places to Verona. The Venetians also, joined by the Sclavonians, arose *en masse*, and put all the French to death, not excepting those who were lying on beds of sickness in hospitals and infirmaries. The armistice was followed by a treaty between France and Austria, on April 19, at Leoben.

By this treaty France received an immense degree of territory. It was agreed, that the Austrian Netherlands should belong to the republic; that Lombardy should be denominated the *Cisalpine Republic;* and should

include the *ci-devant* Dutchy of Mantua, and the territories of Modena, Ferrara, and Bologna.

Prior to this peace, General Kray, who commanded the army of the Rhine, being informed of the armistice, solicited a similar indulgence from General Hoche, but that general refused to grant it, unless the fortress of Ehbrenstein, and the whole course of the Lahn, were delivered up to him; such terms justly excited the indignation of Kray, who, sooner than submit to them, though much inferior in force, immediately attacked the front; but the assailants were completely routed. General Macan also defeated the Imperialists, taking four thousand prisoners, and an immense quantity of artillery. To complete the misfortunes of this most disastrous campaign, the strong fortress of Kehl, which had made so formidable a defence, and since supported by the Austrians at a vast expence, surrendered without firing a shot. The news of the peace arriving, put a termination to the progress of hostilities. While the French were advancing in the career of military glory, thus, by an unexpected series of disastrous events, was the powerful house of Austria, whose armies had lately been crowned with victory, hurled from its towering greatness, and laid prostrate, and abased at the feet of the republic of France: its glories defeated, its honors faded, its resources exhausted, its population diminished, and its territories curtailed.

While Austria had thus been placed in so degrading a situation, another triumph had graced the British flag; another victory had proved that Britannia ruled the waves. Information had been received of the sailing of a fleet from Spain, amounting to twenty-seven sail of the line; Admiral Sir John Jervis fell in with this fleet, off Cape St. Vincent, on February 14, 1797; the British Admiral's force was considerably inferior to that of the Spanish fleet, yet, with a spirit of heroism, which is so eminently characteristic of a British sailor, Sir John Jervis boldly engaged the enemy, broke through the line of the Spanish fleet, and captured four ships of the line. In consequence of this brilliant victory, the thanks of both houses of parliament were voted to Sir John; and he was soon after elevated to the peerage, by the title of Earl of St. Vincent. This was the second

grand naval victory which had taken place since Great Britain had been engaged in a war with France. Already had the republic felt the thunder of the British cannon on the mighty ocean, and now its weak and enslaved ally had its proud fleet disorganised, and scattered like chaff before the wind.

CHAP. XXV.

Proceedings of the French Directory. Negociations at Lisle. Defeat of the Dutch Fleet by Admiral Duncan. Definitive Treaty of Campo Formio.

THE French directory had used every means calculated to establish its popularity. The national finances were recruited; the glory of the French arms had never been so prosperous as under its government; and while affairs were thus propitious abroad, trade, commerce, and manufactures flourished at home: nay, the members of the directory had most laudably promoted the interests of science and literature, which had languished forlorn and neglected during the Vandal reign of terror. A grand establishment had been formed, which was called the "National Institute," founded on the basis of the Royal Academy. The most eminent literati of France, were admitted as members of this society. De la Lande,† Fourcroy, Sage, Volney,‡ Berthollet, and other learned men, devoted their intellectual researches to this institution, by furnishing from time to time, papers containing their discoveries in astronomy. A great degree of splendor and dignity was attached to the opening of

† M. De la LANDE, an eminent astronomer, was an avowed atheist: the most disgusting practical atheist that ever existed. During the reign of Robespierre, he delivered, with the *Bonnet Rouge* on his head, a public discourse, to disprove the existence of a Deity! On almost every subject, and in every company, he introduced his abominable dogma. Thus wretchedly besotted was a man whose philosophical science did him honor.

‡ Author of Travels in Egypt, and a work pregnant with infidelity, entitled, "Ruins of Empires."

this institution, which took place in the hall of the Louvre, the members of the directory attending in their robes; the Ambassadors of Spain, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, America, Tuscany, Genoa, and Geneva, were present. A great number of foreign members, and some English literati, were elected members of this learned society.

The directory, it might have been presumed, after the calamities which had so long fallen upon the people, would have enjoyed their confidence; but such was far from being the case; there secretly existed a spirit of jealousy and dissatisfaction. The period limited by the new constitution, for the choice of a new director, approached; and also when the primary assemblies were to elect such a number of new members of the council of five hundred, as to form a third part of the national representatives. Letournear was the director who was to relinquish his situation. Among the new representatives were Generals Jourdan and Pichegru; the latter was chosen president of the council of five hundred. Disputes soon took place with respect to the new director, or, to adopt the appropriate terms of an eminent French writer,† one of "The Five Kings." M. Barthelemy, the Ambassador to Switzerland, who had been the chief agent in negociating peace with the Helvetic body, was elected by the council of ancients the new director. He received the greatest honors upon his departure from the inhabitants of the Cantons; and would have received greater honors upon entering France, but his modesty prompted him to relinquish such marks of public applause, by travelling a private route to Paris. He was installed with the accustomed ceremony, and made an inauguration speech.

In the council of five hundred many of the new members courted popularity, by declaiming violently against the directory, for a lavish expenditure of the public money; conveying more than an indirect charge of peculation. M. Barras, one of the directors, had incurred a great degree of odium, not only from a certain degree of *hauteur* he possessed, but principally from the ostentatious splendor in which he lived, and the voluptuous licentiousness of his manners. The charge brought

† SIR FRANCIS D'IVERNOIS.

against him was, merely that of *etiquette*, namely, that he had not attained the age of forty, that prescribed by the constitution.

On July 20, General Pichegru presented a plan for re-organising the national guard. This was a secret pointed attack upon the power and privileges of the directors, to whom alone appertained the nomination of the officers of the national guards. Circumstances began now to portend an approaching convulsion; the directory had the armed force at its disposal. General Hoche was known to be advancing within a few leagues of Paris, a decided infringement of the legislative provisions. The consequence of these proceedings were mutual recriminations, and equivocal explanations. The council of five hundred accused the directory of exercising arbitrary power; the latter denied the charge, pleaded ignorance of the army having approached so near Paris, and solemnly averred it was not by their order; and in their turn, they charged the council of five hundred with seditious practices. It was now generally rumoured, that Hoche had an order to march to Paris and annihilate the legislative body. The anniversary of the execrable 10th of August, when a grand festival always took place, was a period well calculated for the more general developement of the sentiments of the council of five hundred; it was then peculiarly incumbent on the members of the executive directory to breathe nothing but sentiments of moderation and profound respect to the sovereign authority of the people.

Another vacancy now occurred in the directorship, by Carnot having filled the office for the time appointed. Proceedings now were carried to great extremities, each party pulled off the mask, and endeavored to crush the other. The vengeance of the directory was particularly pointed at Barthelemy and Carnot; the latter found means to escape, but the former was arrested by Barras. General Augereau was ordered to surround the Thuilleries with a division of the troops; the guards of the councils, both of the ancients, and that of the five hundred, refused to resist the orders of the directors. Pichegru, with twelve other of the popular representatives, were arrested and sent prisoners to the Temple. The doors of the hall where the councils met, were closed,

and seals put on the doors: other places had been provided for holding their sittings by the directory. In vindication of these rigorous measures it was alleged, that a conspiracy had been entered into by the arrested members, in behalf of the royalists, and to destroy the existing constitution. Proclamations declaratory of the formation of such a plot, and also denouncing instant death to all persons found implicated in it, were issued. A number of the members of the council of five hundred formed a committee, of five members, namely, the *ci-devant* Abbe Sieyes,† Grand Pré, Villiers, Chazal, and Barbery de la Mourthe, who composed a letter of thanks to the directory for having used prompt measures for the salvation of the country. This self-created committee also assumed to themselves the prerogative of making new laws, and annulling the old ones, so far as related

† This extraordinary man, originally an ecclesiastic, had greatly distinguished himself in all the different stages of the revolution, and acted with such political wisdom, as to secure himself from danger, even in its worst periods. He was, however, solemnly denounced on June 19, 1791, from the tribune of the Jacobins, as having formed the counter-revolutionary projects of reviving the nobility, of instituting two legislative chambers, and of having inundated the 83 departments with a formulary for signature for that criminal purpose. Sieyes prepared to reply, but reflecting on the character of the men who surrounded him, he shut himself up in philosophic silence. From this moment, until the opening of the convention, he remained in voluntary obscurity. At the first formation of the department of Paris, he was elected administrator. It was also proposed to make him Bishop of Paris, this offer he declined, and soon after resigned his place in the department, and retired into the country, about a league from Paris. He was chosen a deputy to the convention by three departments. As a member of that body he drew up a plan for the better organisation of public instruction. Hassenfratz, a frantic Jacobin, delivered an oration, condemning the whole of this plan of the Abbé, and upon the order of Robespierre it was rejected, and he was expelled the committee of public instruction. The fortune of Sieyes at the commencement of the revolution, consisted in benefices and pensions to the amount of seven or eight thousand livres annually; and in annuities on the Hotel de Ville at Paris, making together the sum of eight hundred and forty livres; he also had various sums lent on security, which comprehended his patrimony and savings, for nine or ten years. He had a design of appropriating the sums he had laid by, to enable him to retire into the United States of America. After the decrees which put the property of ecclesiastics into the hands of the nation, Sieyes conjectured that he should soon be reduced to his own private and independent fortune. The Abbé, after the dissolutions of the directory and the councils of ancients, and that of the five hundred, was for some time much in the secret favor of Bonaparte, but was afterward supported by the more powerful influence of the Ex-bishop of Autun, Talleyrand, now Prince of Benevento. The Abbé Sieyes is still living.

to the organization of the elections of the council of five hundred; and ordered the banishment of forty members of the council of five hundred, amongst whom were Generals Pichegru and Willot; Dumolard, La Riviero, and Pastoret. Amongst the council of ancients who were thus sentenced, were, Marbois, Ladebat, and Coudray; Barthelemy, the ex-director, was also excluded; as were also Generals Miranda and Morgan.

The imprisoned deputies were removed from the Temple in the most degrading manner; being placed in iron cases, mounted on caravans, such as itinerant exhibitors of wild beasts made use of, and conveyed to the place of embarkation, to be transported to the coast of Guinea.

The directory, elevated with this triumphant overthrow of their opponents, decreed an annual festival, in celebration of the discovery and defeat of this conspiracy. Various papers were also published in justification of the conduct of the directory. And here it will be requisite to make an observation on this singular event. From an impartial view of the subject, there is great reason to believe, that the members who were sentenced to exile, notwithstanding some pretended documents which were published, were ignorant of tampering with, or holding any correspondence with the royalists; that they were inimical to the conduct of the directory is unquestionable, and that they had an abridgment of its authority in view, is equally palpable; and hence arose the struggle which ended in the destruction of the popular representatives. The influence of Bonaparte was very great at this time; his intimacy with Barras was generally known, and it is not improbable, that the conqueror of Italy was already forming that vast plan of personal aggrandisement which he afterward progressively developed. It was profound policy in Bonaparte to side with the directory, and by that means he acquired an influence and authority over the executive government.

Indefatigable in attempts to procure the blessings of peace, the British ministry entered into another negociation with the French directory. Lord Malmesbury, whose diplomatic talents had so frequently been displayed in former embassies, was again nominated minister plenipotentiary; and the place assigned for opening the negociations was the city of Lisle. Letournear, the

ex-director, Pleville Lepelly, and Maret, were the French commissioners. The negociations commenced on July 20, and lasted until October 6, when they abruptly terminated, with an order for Lord Malmesbury to quit the French dominions within twenty-four hours. In consequence of this new miscarriage, a declaration was published by order of his Majesty, in which it was stated, that his Majesty's benevolent endeavors to restore to his subjects the blessings of an honorable and lasting peace had been frustrated. It also stated, that his minister had been "furnished with the most ample power, and instructed to communicate at once an explicit and detailed proposal and plan of peace, reduced into the shape of a regular treaty; just and moderate in its principles, embracing all the interests concerned, and extending to every object connected with the restoration of public tranquillity." To this proceeding, "open and liberal beyond example," the conduct of his Majesty's enemies opposes the most striking contrast; no counter-project had ever yet been received; and no statement of the extent and nature of the conditions on which they would conclude any peace with these kingdoms, could be obtained. "The points which, in pursuance of this system, the plenipotentiaries of the enemy proposed for separate discussion, in their first conferences with his Majesty's ministers, were at once frivolous and offensive; none of them productive of any solid advantage to France; but all calculated to raise new obstacles in the way of peace. And to these demands was soon after added another, in its form unprecedented, in its substance extravagant, and such as could originate only in the most determined and inveterate hostility. The principle of mutual compensation, before expressly admitted by common consent, as the just and equitable basis of negociation, was now disclaimed; every idea of moderation, or reason, every principle of justice was disregarded, and a concession was required from his Majesty's plenipotentiary, as a preliminary and indispensible condition, which must at once have superseded all the objects, and precluded all the means of treating. France, after incorporating with her own dominions so large a portion of her conquests; and affecting to have deprived herself by her own internal regulations, of the power of alienating these valuable additions of territory, did not

scruple to demand from his Majesty, the absolute and unconditional surrender of all that the energy of his people, and the valor of his fleets and armies, have conquered in the present war, either from France, or from her allies. She required, that the power of Great Britain should be confined within its former limits, at the very moment when her own dominion was extended to a degree almost unparalleled in history. She insisted, that in proportion to the increase of danger, the means of resistance should be diminished; and that his Majesty should give up, without compensation, and into the hands of his enemies, the necessary defences of his possessions, and the future safeguards of his empire. Nor even was this demand brought forward as constituting the terms of peace, but the price of negociation; as the condition on which alone his Majesty was to be allowed to learn what further unexplained demands were still reserved, and to what greater sacrifices these unprecedented concessions of honor and safety were to lead."

This well-penned declaration closed in the following manner: "To France, to Europe, and to the world, it must be manifest, that the French government (while they persist in their present sentiments) leave his Majesty without an alternative, unless he were prepared to surrender and sacrifice to the undisguised ambition of his enemies, the honor of his crown, and the safety of his dominions. It must be manifest, that instead of shewing on their part, any inclination to meet his Majesty's pacific overtures on any moderate terms; they have never brought themselves to state any terms, (however exorbitant,) on which they were ready to conclude peace. They have asked, as a preliminary, (and in the form, the most arrogant and offensive,) concessions, which the comparative situation of the two countries would have rendered extravagant in any stage of negociation; which were directly contrary to their own repeated professions, and which, nevertheless, they peremptorily required to be complied with in the very outset; reserving an unlimited power of afterwards accumulating from time to time, fresh demands, increasing in proportion to every new concession.

"On the other hand, the terms proposed by his Majesty, have been stated in the most clear, open, and un-

equivocal manner; the discussion of all the points to which they relate, or of any others which the enemy might bring forward as the terms of peace, has been on his Majesty's part, repeatedly called for, as often promised by the French plenipotentiaries, but to this day has never yet been obtained. The rupture of the negociation is not, therefore, to be ascribed to any pretensions (however inadmissible) urged as the price of peace; nor to any ultimate difference on terms, however exorbitant; but to the evident and fixed determination of the enemy to prolong the contest, and to pursue, at all hazards, their hostile designs against the prosperity and safety of these kingdoms.

"While this determination continues to prevail, his Majesty's earnest wishes and endeavors to restore peace to his subjects must be fruitless: but his sentiments remain unaltered. He looks with anxious expectation to the moment when the government of France may shew a disposition and spirit, in any degree, correspondent to his own. And he renews, even now, and before all Europe, the solemn declaration, that in spite of repeated provocations, and at the very moment when his claims have been strengthened and confirmed by that fresh success, which by the blessing of Providence, has recently attended his arms, † he is yet ready (if the calamities of war can now be closed) to conclude peace on the same moderate and equitable principles and terms which he has before proposed: the rejection of such terms must now, more than ever, demonstrate the implacable animosity, and insatiable ambition of those with whom he has to contend, and to them alone must the future consequences of the prolongation of the war be ascribed.

"If such, unhappily, is the spirit by which they are still actuated, his Majesty can neither hesitate as to the principles of his own conduct, nor doubt the sentiments and determination of his people. He will not be wanting to them, and he is confident they will not be wanting to themselves. He has an anxious, but a sacred and indispensible duty to fulfil: he will discharge it with resolution, constancy and firmness; deeply as he must regret the continuance of a war, so destructive in its pro-

† LORD DUNCAN'S victory.

gress, and so burthensome even in its success, he knows the character of the brave people whose interests and honor are entrusted to him. These it is the first object of his life to maintain: and he is convinced, that neither the resources nor the spirit of his kingdoms will be found inadequate to this arduous contest, or unequal to the importance and value of the subjects which are at stake. He trusts that the favor of Providence, by which they have always hitherto been supported against all their enemies, will be still extended to them; and that under this protection, his faithful subjects, by a resolute and vigorous application of the means which they possess, will be enabled to vindicate the independence of their country, and to resist with just indignation the assumed superiority of an enemy, against whom they have fought with the courage and success, and glory of their ancestors, and who aims at nothing less than to destroy, at once, whatever has contributed to the prosperity and greatness of the British empire; all the channels of its industry, and all the sources of its power, its security from abroad, its tranquillity at home, and above all, that constitution on which alone depends the undisturbed enjoyment of its religion, laws, and liberties."

The publication of this animated state paper, afforded an explicit delineation of the aspiring pretensions of the French government in consequence of the great success of their arms on the continent of Europe; and whatever censure might have been attached to the conduct of the British cabinet in the former negociation, it was a general and well-founded opinion, that the conduct of the French directory, in the negociations at Lisle, was imperious and repulsive in the extreme; nor did that great naval victory which we are now about to narrate, produce any dispositions of a conciliatory nature.

The distracted situation of Ireland, many parts of which were in a state of open rebellion, naturally excited the attention of the executive government of France, who, regardless of the abortive attempt at Bantry Bay, fitted out a large army for the invasion of Ireland, which at any rate would tend to throw that kingdom into a state of confusion; and ultimately might sever it from the sister country. The troops destined for this purpose embarked on board the fleet under the command of Lieutenant-

general Daendels. Intelligence being received of this event, the board of admiralty dispatched a large squadron to the North Sea, to intercept the enemy; Admiral Adam Duncan † had the command of this fleet. After cruising about for several months, he was compelled to repair to Yarmouth to refit. The Dutch government, who had a fleet ready for action, stationed at the Texel, gave orders for it to sail in search of the English Admiral, should he have quitted Yarmouth, which being the case, Admiral De Winter was discovered with the Dutch fleet approaching; when the English Admiral issued orders for a general chase; and the enemy was found drawn up in a line of battle, on the larboard tack, with the country between Camperdown and Egmont, about nine miles to leeward.

The Dutch Fleet consisted of the following ships:

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
Vryheid,	74	Admiral De Winter.
States General,	74	Rear-Admiral Story.
Brutus,	74	
Jupiter,	74	Vice-Admiral Reyntjer.
Haarlem,	68	
Cerberus,	68	
Devries,	68	
Leyden,	68	
Geby Reid,	68	
Wassenaer,	64	
Hercules,	64	
Delft,	56	
Alkmaer,	56	
Beschermer,	54	
Batavia,	54	
Munikenden,	44	
Mars,	44	
Ambuscade,	32	
Minerva,	24	
Waaksaamheid,	26	
Daphne,	18	
Atlanta,	18	
Ajax,	18	
Galathee,	16	
Haasje,	6	

† This gallant Naval Officer, was a native of Scotland. He was an officer of great experience, and had passed a long life with great credit

The British Admiral's Fleet consisted of the following ships:

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
Venerable,	74	Admiral Duncan, Captain W. G. Fairfax.
Monarch,	74	Vice-Admiral Onslow. Captain E. O'Brien.
Montague,	74	Captain J. Knight.
Russell,	74	H. Trollope.
Powerful,	74	W. O'Bryen Drury.
Triumph,	74	W. H. Effington.
Bedford,	74	Sir T. Byard.
Director,	64	W. Bligh.
Veteran,	64	G. Gregory.
Monmouth,	64	J. Walker.
Agincourt,	64	J. Williamson.
Ardent,	64	R. R. Burgess.
Lancaster,	64	J. Wells.
Belligueux,	64	J. Inglis.
Isis,		W. Mitchell.
	Frigates, &c.	
Beaulieu,	40	Fayerman.
Circe,	28	P. Halkett.
Martin Sloop,	16	Hon. C. Paget.

Admiral Duncan being rssolved to get in between the enemy and the coast, immediately threw out a signal to bear up, break the line, and engage to leeward. Vice-Admiral Onslow led his division against the enemy's rear; thus commencing the battle with decided courage, while Admiral Duncan passed through the Dutch line, closing upon the van; with the most undaunted heroism, DeWinter maintained the engagement for more than two hours, but being deserted during the battle, and his own ship

and reputation, but without any opportunity of distinguishing himself, until the glorious battle of Camperdown. He had been employed some time in watching the motions of the Texel fleet. His lordship did not long survive his elevation to the peerage. In person, Lord Duncan was an uncommon fine figure, and of athletic stature; and his manners were pleasing, and even refined. At the Lord Mayor's ball, November 9, at Guildhall, his Lordship danced a minuet with Lady Anderson, the Lady Mayoress, with singular elegance.

reduced to a mere wreck, he ordered his colours to be struck. The British in this memorable victory captured, in addition to the two flag ships, three of 68 guns, two of 64, two of 56, and two vessels of inferior force. The cowardice of Rear-Admiral Story was basely conspicuous, for instead of supporting his brave, but unfortunate superior officer, he sailed in the States General of 74 guns, with part of his division: at the commencement of the engagement, and upon his arrival in Holland, he had the audacity to vindicate his conduct as wise and prudential. This grand naval action was fought so near to the Dutch shore, that thousands of spectators witnessed its progress; the English fleet being in only nine fathoms water, within five miles of the enemy's coast, and exposed to the danger of a lee-shore. It took place on October 11, 1797.

Nothing could exceed the effervescence of joy which pervaded the whole kingdom upon intelligence being received of the battle of Camperdown. Both houses of parliament voted thanks to the gallant British heroes of the ocean. Admiral Duncan was created Viscount Duncan, of Camperdown, and a pension of three thousand pounds a year was assigned to him. Vice-Admiral Onslow was created a baronet; and Captains Trollope and Fairfax, were made knights bannerets. Captain Williamson, of the Agincourt, was, however, tried by a court-martial, and dismissed from the command of his ship. Admiral De Winter took up his residence, on parole, in the city of Westminster.†

At the very period when the British arms had been thus triumphant, the preliminaries of peace, which had been entered into with the Emperor, at Leoben, were definitively signed, and daly signed, at Campo Formio, in October, 1797. By this treaty the Emperor renounced, in favor of the French republic, all his right and title to the *ci-devant* Austrian Netherlands, into which the republic was to enter on the perpetual possession, in full right and sovereignty, on all the territorial possessions dependent thereon. The Emperor agreed to give up to the French republic, in full sovereignty, the *ci-devant* Venetian islands of the Levant, Corfu, Zante, Cepha-

† At the house of Mr. Smith, an apothecary, in Tavistock-street, Covent-garden.

Ionia, St. Maure, Cerigo, and other islands dependent thereon; together with Butrinto, Larta, Vouizza, and in general all the Venetian establishments in Albarisa, which are situated lower down than the Gulf of Lodrino. The Emperor was to retain possession of Istria, Dalmatia, the Venetian islands in the Adriatic, the mouths of the Castaro, the city of Venice, the Venetian islands, and the countries between the hereditary states of the Emperor, the Adriatic Sea, and a line to be drawn from the Tyrol. The Emperor renounced all right and title to the Cisalpine republic, and acknowledged it as an independent power; and he engaged to enter into a treaty of commerce with France, and also not to admit into any of his ports, any vessels belonging to the belligerent powers. The Emperor bound himself to cede to the Duke of Modena, the Brisgaw, as an indemnification for the territory which that prince, and his heirs, possessed in Italy: the determination of the disputes with the empire was deferred to be settled at a congress to be assembled at Radstadt.

There were fourteen secret articles added to the treaty of Campo Formio; by one of these, the Emperor stipulated to use his influence, "That the French republic shall, by the peace to be concluded with the German empire, retain as its boundary, the left bank of the Rhine, from the confines of Switzerland, below Basle, to the branching of the Nette, above Andernach, including the head of the bridge of Manheim, the town and fortress of Mentz, and both banks of the Nette, from where that river falls into the Rhine, to its source near Bruch." The Emperor, and King of Hungary and Bohemia, consented also to mediate in behalf of France, to obtain for her the free navigation of the Rhine, the Moselle, and the Meuse: while, on the other hand, the republic was to endeavor to obtain for his Imperial Majesty, and to acquire for the house of Austria, the Archbishopric of Saltzburg, and part of the circle of Bavaria; while the towns and fortresses of Mentz, Ehreybreitstein, Philipsburg, Manheim, Kangstein, Ulm, and Ingolstadt, were to be evacuated by the Imperial troops in twenty-days; and it was expressly stipulated, that in case of the German empire refusing to consent to this enormous extension of the

territorial power of France, the Emperor was to furnish only his contingent, which was not to be employed in any fortified town.

CHAP. XXVI.

Bombardment of Cadiz. Expedition against Teneriffe. Insurrection at Rome.

DURING the summer of 1797, an expedition was dispatched from the fleet of the Earl of St. Vincent, under the command of Rear-Admiral Nelson, for the bombardment of Cadiz. The Thunderer bomb was stationed within two thousand five hundred yards of the walls of that place. The Spaniards, who had already bitterly experienced the consequences of the war, made a feeble effort to resist the projected attack; they sent out a considerable number of mortar and gun-boats, but they were almost instantly dispersed and nearly destroyed. "On this occasion a similar combat took place between Don Miguel Tyrason, who commanded the armament, and the gallant officer afterwards destined to distinguish himself and his country on the coast of Egypt; the former having laid the Admiral's boat alongside, in which position his barge remained until eighteen out of twenty-six of his own crew were killed, and he himself, and the remainder, wounded; nor was the British commander exempt from danger, for Captain Freemantle, who accompanied him, was wounded; and his coxswain, Sykes, received a shot,"†

Another bombardment took place in the course of a few days, which produced considerable effect on the town, and in a very great degree annoyed the shipping; the fleet being then under the command of two Spanish Admirals, was obliged to change its position. These bombardments afforded another proof, if another proof was necessary, of the magnanimous and noble spirit of

† Stephens's Wars of the French Revolution, vol. ii. p. 179.

enterprise which has, from time to time, distinguished the British navy.

In the month of July, it was thought expedient to make an attempt on one of the Spanish islands on the coast of Africa, Teneriffe, so celebrated for its Peak. Rear-Admiral Horatio Nelson was selected to command this expedition; he sailed in the Theseus, and his small squadron consisted of the Culloden, Zealous, Seahorse, Emerald, Terpsichore, and Fox cutter; the Leander also joined the squadron, which arrived off Teneriffe, July 15, 1797. A body of forces landed under the direction of Captain Trowbridge, of the Culloden, aided by Captains Hood, Thomson, Freemantle, Bowen, Miller, and Waller. The town of Santa Cruz, or, Holy Cross, was, after an obstinate resistance, taken; and an attack was then made on the neighbouring fort, but in this undertaking the assailants were totally unsuccessful, and were reluctantly obliged to retreat; and to add to the misfortune, the English, when about to re-embark, found most of their boats destroyed through the violence of the surf: the loss sustained in this ill-projected expedition was great; forty-four men killed, one hundred and five wounded, and ninety-seven drowned: Captain Bowen, and six lieutenants were also killed; the heroic Nelson lost an arm, and Captain Freemantle was wounded.

The following intercepted letter, containing a particular account of this unfortunate affair, in which the great Nelson cut so conspicuous a figure, we copy from a work of singular merit,†

St. Cruz, Teneriffe, August 4, 1797.

"On the 22d of July last, an English squadron appeared off this port, at about four o'clock in the morning; and at ten a number of troops and seamen were landed from the different ships, at the foot of the hills situated on the north; the landing was protected by three of their frigates, which anchored about two or three miles from the nearest fort. Soon after these men were seen climbing up one of the highest hills, and encamping in three different places, viz. at the top, at the half way, and a little lower down.

† Stephens's Wars of the French Revolution, vol. ii. p. 187.

"On seeing this operation, the Spaniards sent a strong detachment to occupy the hill opposite, which defends the town; and to prevent their advancing towards one of our principal forts. Soon after the cannonade began between the two small armies, for they both had field-pieces, and it never ceased till the English re-embarked, which they did the following night: on the 23d, early in the morning, the three frigates stood out with the ships, and all that day did nothing but tack about.

"On the 24th they were much to leeward, but working the whole day they came to an anchor, about five o'clock in the evening, in the same birth the frigates had been before: at about seven, the bomb ketch began to throw shells into a strong fort at the north side of the town, to which the Spaniards answered by a heavy cannonade, and a few shells. At a quarter after two in the morning, the fire increased, and the alarm guns announced to us the approach of the enemy; and then a great number of boats were seen crossing to the south part of the town, and landing men. From the moment these boats were perceived, an incessant fire of grape-shot was directed towards them, which proved to be effectual in disordering their debarkation. Their boats were entirely crushed to pieces on the beach, several were obliged to desist from landing; a great number of men were killed, wounded, or drowned; and a cutter which was approaching, laden with men, and ammunition of all kinds, was sunk by the battery, and scarcely any body saved. This reception decided the victory; for the troops which had landed, although they acted bravely, and sustained, especially at the moment of their landing, and some time after in the streets, the heaviest fire of musketry, and light artillery of our garrison, were so much harassed on all sides, and at last surrounded in such a manner, that they were obliged to demand a capitulation; this, after some difficulties, was agreed to, on the following terms: That the troops and seamen belonging to his Britannic Majesty should re-embark, with their arms, and their boats be returned, if saved, or such others provided as should be wanted for their re-embarkation: in consideration of which, they bound themselves on their part, that the British squadron now before the port, should not molest it, nor any other of

the Canaries, and that the prisoners should be returned on both sides.

"The English, according to the reports of the officers, and the summons they sent the governor, whilst they were in the town, only wished to make themselves masters of the king's money, supposed to be detained here to a considerable amount, on account of the blockade of Cadiz, and of the cargo of a Manilla ship, which they imagined to be a Lima ship, worth ten or twelve millions. The loss of men was considerable on the side of the English, the officers mentioned it to be above five hundred, amongst which were several officers: the famous and brave Captain Bowen also fell in the action; Admiral Nelson lost his right arm; and Captain Thompson, of the Leander, was severely wounded. The action lasted four hours. The loss of the Spaniards is twenty-three killed, two officers included, and thirty-one wounded. This squadron was detached from the Cadiz fleet, and consisted of the following ships:

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
Theseus,	74	Rear-Admiral Nelson. Capt. R. W. Miller.
Culloden,	74	Trowbridge.
Zealous,	74	Samuel Hood.
Leander,	50	Thompson.
Emerald,	44	Waller.
Seahorse,	32	Freemantle.
Terpsichore,	36	Bowen.
Fox cutter,	14	Gibson.
And a bomb-ketch,		—— "

Soon after the treaty of Campo Formio was concluded, the directory selected Joseph Bonaparte, brother of the General, as the Ambassador from the republic, to the Papal See. It was evident that Joseph was chosen expressly for the purpose of mortifying and insulting the Pope, who had been nearly despoiled of his territories, and defrauded of his finances. Pius VI. had, in many instances, evinced a decided firmness of character; but he was now in a lamentable situation, without allies, without troops, without money, in fact without any resources; the triple crown began to totter on his head, ominous of its fall. Duphot, an adjutant-general, and

chef de brigade, in the service of the French republic, repaired to Rome towards the close of the year 1797, expressly for the purpose of being married to Madam Bonaparte, sister of Napoleon, who was afterward married to General Murat. On December 26, three persons waited upon Joseph Bonaparte, soliciting his interference to prevent an insurrection, which they stated was about to take place; from motives of policy, the ambassador appeared totally indifferent to the affair; neither did he communicate any thing relative to it, where such developement was most essential. On the following day a tumult took place, in which the French cockade was worn by a large number of the insurgents. Some of the Papal forces made an attempt to disperse them, in which two of the former were killed. Joseph Bonaparte then presented to the secretary of state, a list of those persons who were privileged to wear the national cockade; at the close of the day the tumult greatly increased, particularly in the vicinity of the French Ambassador's palace, where the mob repaired, exclaiming, "Long live the French republic." Joseph Bonaparte presuming, that by addressing the insurgents he could restore tranquillity, made many efforts for that purpose, but in vain; Duphot then stepped forward, with the Adjutant-general Sterloch, and while speaking, was shot,† by a corporal belonging to the Pope's forces, and his body being dragged through the streets, was insulted by the populace.

The next day the ambassador quitted Rome, and an account of this transaction was transmitted to Paris. Orders were immediately sent to General Berthier, who commanded the French forces in Italy, to revolutionise Rome, and pillage the country. General Cervoni had an interview with his holiness, in which he announced the subversion of his authority; and that the people would resume its sovereignty. Berthier advanced to Rome, by forced marches, and gained possession of the castle of St. Angelo; he opened the doors of the prisons, and set all the convicts at liberty; and made the Pope, the cardinals, and the whole population of Rome, his prisoners. He entered the city in triumph, February 15,

† DUPHOT was to have been married on the day following that on which he was killed.

1798, preceded by the grenadiers of his army, with music playing and colours flying; and having arrived at the capitol, pronounced an harangue, in which he invoked the manes of Cato, Pompey, Cæsar, Cicero, and all the illustrious Romans of antiquity, to attest the solemn scene the city of Rome now witnessed.

"The descendants of the Gauls (exclaimed Berthier) have come with the olive branch of peace in their hands, to rebuild the altars of liberty, erected by the first Brutus. And you, people of Rome! who have now received your ancient rights; recollect that blood which flows in your veins; survey these monuments of glory, by which you are surrounded; resume your pristine greatness, and emulate the virtues of your ancestors."

A festival was celebrated in honor of the memory of Duphot, the consecrated urn which contained his ashes, was deposited in the capitol; and a great mausoleum, decorated with appropriate inscriptions, surrounded by cypress trees, and illuminated with funeral torches, erected in front of the Vatican.

A proclamation was issued, declaring Rome a free and independent republic, under the special protection of the French government. The Pope was stript of his authority, the triple crown was torn from his head, and the sovereign pontiff, now in the 82d year of his age, was exposed to the most cruel privations, and the most barbarous insults. French troops surrounded his palace, in which Pius VI. was virtually a prisoner; he was then conveyed to Sienna, and lodged in a convent of the Augustine monks.

Thus, by the agency of the French arms, was the papal power, which had so long usurped and exercised tyrannical authority, binding kings in chains, and princes in fetters of iron, subverted: thus was the temporal authority of the pretended successor of St. Peter annihilated; thus the head of that antichristian church, which had shed such oceans of blood, reduced to a state of abasement and degradation!

CHAP. XXVII.

Invasion of Switzerland. The French enter the Canton of Berne. Battle of Standtz. Congress at Rastadt.

NEARLY the whole continent of Europe was now under the dominion of the French republic; and after the unprecedented success which had lately attended the French arms, it might have been presumed, there would have been no desire in the French directory to attain a more elevated state of power; such, however, was not the case, there was *one man* who secretly was planning the most ambitious schemes of aggrandisement; and from subsequent events, there is every reason to suppose the directory was *directed* by him; this man was General Napoleon Bonaparte. The simple and virtuous inhabitants of the Helvetic Cantons, the brave descendants of William Tell, had for a series of ages enjoyed unmolested, their liberty and independence; a cruel destiny, however, awaited them. The ambitious views of the directory and executive government of France, were directed to Switzerland. The Helvetic Cantons were far from regarding the overthrow of monarchy in France, and the establishment of a republic, with pleasure; and, in some instances, at the breaking out of the war, they had evinced some partiality for England; this alone was a sufficient pretext for an attack upon their freedom: long indeed had the French republicans desired to fraternise the Swiss, and incorporate their territories with France. The Canton of Berne had incurred more particularly the hatred of the French, it had refused to recognise the republic, one and indivisible; it had favored the assembling of an emigrant army; and had obliged the French minister to retire from Soleure. Near the close of the year 1797, the directory had imperiously demanded the free navigation of the Lake of Lugans, for the Cisalpine republic; a passage for twenty-five thousand troops, in flagrant violation of the neutrality of Switzerland; as also the dismission of Mr. Wickham, the British minister resident there. The Helvetic diet, in consequence of this symptom of an approaching invasion, ordered a body of twenty-six thousand men, which were placed under

the command of Colonel De Weiss. The inhabitants of the Pays de Vaud, were endeavoring to procure a democratic government, organised upon French principles, contrary to the Swiss confederation. The Cantons of Berne and Fribourg, dispatched Colonel De Weiss into the Pays de Vaud to quiet an insurrection there; upon which General Menard sent an aid-de-camp to Yverdun, ordering that no impediment should be given to the inhabitants in establishing a government for themselves; and if in any case violence was offered, to repel it by force. At length the inhabitants of the Pays de Vaud formed a constitution, and designated it as the republic of Leman. The senate of Berne, willing to avert the horrors of war if possible, sent an embassy to Paris with pacific overtures, which were rejected. A Swiss army of twenty thousand men was raised, and placed under the direction of Baron D'Erbach D'Henckelbank. The management of the war with Switzerland, was committed by the French directory to General Brune, who, upon entering Switzerland, addressed the following proclamation to the inhabitants:

"Citizens, the French soldiers who penetrated into your vallies, are your friends and brethren; they carry arms for no other person than to annihilate tyranny; their sole aim is to restore that liberty which you cherish.

"From the commencement of that revolution, those who rule the aristocratical Cantons of Switzerland, have secretly aided the powers leagued against France; and they have not failed to assert, that we intended to subjugate Helvetia; but neither ambition, nor avarice, shall ever dishonor the steps I now take in the name of the republic.

"Friends to the generous descendants of William Tell, it is only to punish the criminal invasion of your rights that we now appear in arms among you. Banish from your minds all uneasiness relative to the political independence and integrity of your territories; the government of which I am the organ, will guarantee those to you; its intentions shall be religiously seconded by my companions in arms. Be free; France invites, nature commands it, and to enjoy this precious advantage, you have only to express the wish."

§ On March 2, a body of the French having advanced against the castle of Dornoch, and captured that fortress, while Soleure, upon its first summons, opened its gates. General Brune having advanced to Fribourg, the garrison of which, commanded by the gallant Verrer, made a brave resistance, but at length it was taken by assault; the consequence of this was, a sudden revolution at Berne, where a change of the magistracy was made, and a provisional regency was appointed. Brune, notwithstanding, sent a large detachment against Guimene, whilst General Pigcaro forced the pass of Neveneck, after an engagement of five hours. The Swiss General D'Erbach, was indefatigable in his endeavors to repel the progress of the enemy; but in the midst of his patriotic exertions, he was barbarously massacred by his own soldiers. This venerable chieftain, who was descended from a most illustrious family, and who had been a *Marechal de Camp* in France, before the revolution, when he was summoned by General Brune to deliver up Moratz, where some of his progenitors had recently fallen in a battle, which had proved fatal to the invaders, sent the following gallant and laconic answer: "My ancestors never surrendered; and were I such a coward as to think of it, the bones of the Burgundians now before my eyes, would preclude the possibility of such a humiliation."

The tide of success having flowed in thus rapidly upon the French, the directory was determined to alter the ancient federal government of Switzerland, and amalgamate it with France, in the form of an united republic; this, however, was little congenial to the free-born Mountaineers of the Helvetic Cantons, who, under the mask of a *fraternal hug*, perceived a base design of violating their native liberty, and dissolving that bond of union which formed the basis of their happiness and prosperity. The states of Uri, Schwitz, Underwalden, Glaris, and Appenzel, attached to the democratic system of government, resolved not to bow down before the shrine of French liberty; they transmitted a memorial, stating, "That there was only one objection they had to the government of their Cantons, and for which a change was desirable, and that grievance was removed." It was added, "We no longer recognise any portion of the people as subjects; all are henceforth to enjoy equal

franchises. A nation which, amidst its native mountains, possesses no other property than its flocks, religion, and liberty, solemnly promises every mark of attachment to the French republic, not incompatible with its independence. We are ready to enter into a sacred engagement never to take up arms against France; and we demand, in return, the maintenance of a constitution which recognises for its basis the sovereignty of the people, and has conferred upon us ages of happiness."

This artless, but energetic declaration, fraught with sentiments worthy of a brave and free people, was followed with the appointment of a legislative assembly, which was convened at Arau, where an executive government was elected, consisting of five members for the whole of Switzerland.

Unhappily the democratic Cantons opposed this salutary measure, and even solicited the French to make the other Cantons submit to their authority. The federal Cantons were not wanting in adopting measures for their preservation and safety; they entered into a solemn league, and assembled a large army, the direction of which was committed to General Paravicini; Lucerne was captured, but here they were obliged to halt; and finding the poisonous effects of French influence to have completely enthralled their countrymen, they retreated into the strong holds of their native mountains, and assumed a defensive position, near the Lake of Lug. General Schawenburgh, the commander of the French army, attacked them, when by an admirable *Ruse de Guerre*, the assailants were drawn into an ambuscade, and totally defeated. Attempts were now made to produce a pacification, but the inhabitants of Underwalden refused to accede to it.

On September the 8th, the French marched a large body of troops, and artillery, into that Canton, when a dreadful battle took place, near the town of Standtz; the brave Swiss had only clubs and spears, to oppose to muskets, swords, and bayonets; the free-born mountaineers were overthrown, and a horrible carnage ensued; Standtz was taken by assault, its houses destroyed by fire, and its inhabitants of every age, and of either sex, put to the sword. The effects of this battle was, the total subjugation of that once happy country, celebrated for its political independence, and the simplicity and purity

of the manners of its inhabitants, who were now placed under the dominion of cruel and rapacious tyrants, deputed to levy contributions, and exact humiliating concessions, whose *tender mercies* were *cruelty*. The valor which the Swiss displayed in their struggle to maintain every thing which was dear to them, excited even the admiration of their barbarous enemies. When the Swiss standards were delivered to the French directory, the officer in whose hands they were, thus spoke: "Many of those brave people, without any arms but scythes, and clubs, placing themselves at the mouths of the cannon, were mowed down with grape-shot, and rejected the quarter which was offered them from humanity." Eight hundred of the Swiss youth devoted themselves to death; overpowered by numbers they refused quarter: seven who escaped the first carnage, disdained to survive their brethren in arms, and rushing into the ranks of the enemy, gloriously perished. In these sanguinary contests, not only men, but even numbers of the softer sex, evidenced unparalleled heroism; for women rushed into the heat of the battle, threw themselves on the cannon of the French, and clung to the wheels to hinder them from advancing.

The congress at Radstadt opened on January 1, 1798; the express design of which was to discuss and settle all the disputes between the French republic and the Emperor. General Bonaparte was at first appointed a plenipotentiary, but diplomatic affairs being ill calculated for his talents, he soon resigned a situation for which he was not qualified. This congress was not terminated until the spring of the year 1799; and a particular circumstance attended the close of it, which we shall hereafter relate. It was not probable that, after the treaty of Campo Formio was definitively signed, any advantage would accrue to the Emperor from this assembly being convened; the sequel proved that the French were not inclined to yield up, or make any concessions; the system of sacrifices and indemnities occasioned an immense multitude of difficulties to occur, which could not easily be adjusted.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Irish Rebellion. Invasion of Ireland by General Humbert. French Expedition intercepted by Sir J. B. Warren. War between France and Naples. King of Sardinia abdicates his Crown.

THE disaffection, the flames of which had lately broken out in acts of open rebellion, chiefly existed among the Roman Catholics, who had been endeavoring to procure an emancipation from the penal laws: already had they received relief from many grievances of which they had complained. In 1792, the Irish Catholics were allowed by act of parliament, to practise as barristers and attornies; to intermarry with protestants; to educate youth, in the capacity of schoolmasters, without obtaining a licence from an ordinary of the church of England; as also to send their children abroad for instruction: and in 1793, many other laws were also repealed; but they were still prohibited from having a seat in parliament, or filling any office under the crown. The Earl of Fitzwilliam, when Lord Lieutenant, had pledged himself to the Catholics, that they should receive a complete emancipation; by what authority his lordship made a promise of so important a nature, and which he was unable to accomplish, had something singularly mysterious attached to it. The impolitic conduct of Earl Fitzwilliam, occasioned his speedy recal. His successor, the Marquis Camden, met with a reception on his landing which exhibited unequivocal symptoms of a spirit of insubordination.

The Irish Catholics, to give greater effect to their cause, adroitly intermingled some political points with their plan for emancipation, especially a radical reform of parliamentary representation; this procured them the powerful support of Mr. Grattan, in Ireland, and of Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan, in England. The society of "United Irishmen" spurned at the idea of calm and temperate remonstrance; they resolved to procure emancipation in the same manner as France had become a republic, by a revolution: in this society the members consisted of Protestants as well as Catholics; among the

former, Theobald Wolfe Tone, a barrister, was eminently conspicuous; he was the legislator of the society, having drawn up a code of laws, which he approximated to those of Alfred the Great. In imitation of the French republic, a directory of five, was appointed to watch over and govern the affairs of the society: the directors were Lord Edward Fitzgerald, brother to the Duke of Leinster;† Arthur O'Connor, Esq. nephew to Lord Longueville; Mr. Oliver Bond, a manufacturer of Dublin; Mr. Emmet, a barrister; and Dr. M'Neven, a physician. The Irish directory had a regular accredited ambassador at Paris. Lord Camden had arrived at a most critical period as Viceroy; and he was a man of great firmness and energy of mind. Fitzgibbon, Earl of Clare, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, eminently distinguished himself, by his undaunted courage, and the inflexible perseverance of his character. Every motion of the traitors was watched, and by means of an admirable system of *Espionage*, the proceedings of the directory were made known, and fourteen of the delegates to this convention, and three of the directory, were arrested: two young men, brothers, of the name of Shears, were nominated in their room; but they were speedily apprehended, tried, and executed. The Lord Lieutenant now, with the advice of the privy council, adopted the most vigorous measures, in order to crush the rebellion in embryo. Several districts were proclaimed to be out of the King's peace. In the province of Leinster the rebels appeared in arms, and meditated an attack on the camp of Loughlinstoun; the park of artillery at Chapel-Izod; and even upon the castle of Dublin, in consequence of which the capital was declared in danger, and subjected to military jurisdiction.

The first engagement which took place was at Naas, where an assault was made by the rebels on the town and gaol; the attempt was abortive, they were repulsed with the loss of one hundred and forty killed on the spot. General Dundas also defeated a body of the insurgents at Kilculling; and Lord Roden dispersed a considerable number of them, and two of the ringleaders were exe-

† He married Pamela, daughter of Philip Egalité. When the other members of the directory were arrested, Lord Fitzgerald made a desperate resistance, in which he was so severely wounded that he died in consequence thereof.

cuted. The province of Ulster was notorious for the number of United Irishmen it contained, amounting to one hundred and fifty thousand. The inhabitants of Wicklow and Wexford took up arms, and enlisted under the banners of a Catholic priest, a clergyman of the church of Rome, a Doctor of Divinity, the parish priest of Kilmorick, father John Murphy, had the audacity to place himself at the head of the rebels, assuring his deluded followers, that they would be certain of a seat in paradise, provided they would exterminate the heretics. After committing the most savage acts of barbarity on the Protestants, Murphy repaired to the village of Oulart, near Kilmeckridge, where his army was augmented to fourteen thousand men, chiefly armed with pikes. A detachment of the North Cork militia, under Lieutenant-colonel Foote, with some of Colonel Lehunter's yeomen cavalry, marched against the enemy, who were posted on the side of Olaurt hill; the attack, although at first in favor of the insurgents, ended in a total defeat of the rebels.†

Murphy now issued circular notices, written in *red ink*, commanding all true Catholics to join him without delay, as he meditated an attack upon Enniscorthy. Having said mass on Ballyorle-hill, and set fire to some houses in the neighbourhood, their leader immediately marshalled about six thousand of his followers, and they were soon after seen on the Newtown-Barry road, formed into an immense column, which extended a mile in length; another body, posted on an adjoining eminence, advanced at the same time on the opposite side, and endeavored to throw the troops into disorder, by means of a stratagem: they were gallantly and successfully opposed for a considerable time, by about three hundred and forty men, who occupied the principal outlets; but as a number of disaffected persons were supposed to be in the place, and this small force was incompetent to a prolonged defence, it was determined to evacuate it. No sooner had this been effected, than it was taken possession of by the enemy, who formed a camp on Vinegar Hill early next morning, threw up entrenchments, erected batteries, and regulated all military

† Sir Richard Musgrave's History of the Rebellion in Ireland, vol. i

affairs by means of a committee of twelve, four of whom were priests.† The main body of the rebel army now consisted of ten thousand men; "sentinels, vedettes, and picquet-guards were posted around, and all the appearance of regular troops *affected*; but it was easy to perceive, that the majority were utterly unacquainted with the use of arms; while the motley appearance of the tents, consisting chiefly of quilts, blankets, and carpets, gave a grotesque and ridiculous appearance to the whole; nor *did they fail* to imitate the army in other points of view; for having converted the ruins of a windmill into a gaol, they collected prisoners, and having tried them by the summary jurisdiction of a court-martial, several of the unhappy victims were *occasionally* shot, or piked, in the front of the rebel line: several *Protestant women* also, who fell into the hands of their scouts, or foraging parties, were not *only treated* with barbarity, but *subjected* to violation."‡ A body of rebels, headed by father Kearns, seized on the town of Borris, but they were repulsed; from hence they proceeded to the hill of Forth, denominated the Three Rock Mountain, in solemn procession, headed by the notorious Murphy, with a crucifix in his arms. In the course of a few days, they met with a party of the Meath militia, and a detachment of the royal artillery, which were defeated.

Lieutenant-colonel Maxwell was ordered to march against the rebels, with two hundred of the Donegal regiment, and one hundred and fifty of the yeomanry cavalry, who were annoyed by a very heavy fire from behind rocks, hedges, and houses; the Donegal regiment acted with astonishing intrepidity, repelled the furious attack of the rebels, and fell back upon Wexford, which was the next object of attack. Father Murphy had uniformly inspired his troops with the idea that the musketry of the heretics could not injure them, and they in return believed that father Murphy's body was invulnerable, even to cannon-balls. Colonel Maxwell having evacuated Wexford, the rebels took possession of it, and made Mr. Keugh, the governor thereof; and Beauchamp

† Fathers Murphy, Roche, Kearns, and Clinche. Stephens's History of the Wars of the French Revolution.

‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 267.

Bagnal Harvey, Esq. a Protestant gentleman, was made commander in chief of the united army. The rebels now presaged the entire subjugation of their enemies; and, in fact, the rapid success which attended them was calculated to create a serious alarm throughout the country: they divided their army into three divisions, the first was commanded by Mr. Harvey, the second by father Roche, and the third by Captains Doyle and Redmond; General Perry, and two father Murphys were coadjutors. The assailants gained possession of Newtoun-Barry, but were afterwards driven out of it: they were successful in entirely defeating General Walpole, who fell into an ambuscade at Tubbernuring, and was killed. An attack was now meditated on Ross, where was a garrison of twelve hundred men, and one hundred and fifty yeomen, commanded by Major-general Johnson.

On June 5, 1798, at five o'clock in the morning, thirty thousand rebel infantry advanced in an irregular manner against the town, while the air was rent with the most horrid yells, descriptive of the caverns of hell, some were armed with muskets, and others with pikes; they had also four field-pieces, and a few swivels; the priests appeared in all the parapharnalia of their sacerdotal office, who walked through the ranks conferring on the admiring and besotted soldiers, a plenitude of blessings. "One of the crowd, waving a white handkerchief in his hand, preceded the rest, on being shot by the sentinels, it was discovered that he had brought a letter from Mr. Harvey, the new elected general, dated at the camp of Corbet-hill, summoning the commanding officer to deliver up the place to the forces assembled against it. 'Flushed with victories, (said he,) the Wexford forces, innumerable and irresistible, will not be controlled, if they meet with opposition; to prevent, therefore, the total ruin of all property in the town, I urge you to a speedy surrender, which you will be forced to in a few hours, with loss and bloodshed, as you are surrounded on all sides." † The rebels now drove in the advanced guard, and gained possession of the alarm posts; they were charged by a detachment of the fifth dragoons, but in spite of all opposition they entered the town, notwithstanding cannon were placed along the streets; and

† Stephens's History of the Wars, vol. ii. p. 271.

the main body of the garrison, intimidated by the daring intrepidity of the rebels, and overwhelmed by the numbers continually flocking in to their assistance, fled with precipitation over the bridge, to the Kilkenny side of the river. At this disgraceful moment, General Johnson rode up, and addressing the fugitives, demanded to know what could operate upon their minds to excite them to desert their leader, and their country's cause? This was a rallying question, they were ashamed of their dastardly behaviour, and following the steps of their gallant commander, they routed a column of the enemy, and afterward compelled them to retreat to Carrickbyrne hills, with the loss of two thousand six hundred killed. In this battle Lord Mountjoy, one ensign, four serjeants, and eighty-four men were killed on the side of the government forces. At this time a most horrible massacre was committed by the rebels on a number of prisoners, who were confined at Scullabogue; the sanguinary priests were the instigators of this atrocious affair.† Mr. Bagnal Harvey was now deposed, and the ecclesiastics alone directed the motions of the army.

Father Michael Murphy prepared to make an attack on Arklow; General Needham occupied that place, with one thousand five hundred troops, consisting of dragoons, militia, fencibles, and yeomanry; the rebels marched in two immense columns, forming a body of twenty thousand men, with two six-pounders; the attack was made with great fierceness, but the gallant defence of the King's troops prevented their penetrating into the town; Sir Watkin William Wynne made a noble charge with a body of cavalry; Michael Murphy, the priest of Ballycanon, after haranguing his wretched adherents, advanced with a standard, on which the cross was superbly emblazoned, but his reverence was soon killed by a cannon ball, which most *impiously* deprived this holy father of his existence: the rebel troops now retreated in the most disorderly manner to Coolgrency.

A large body of the insurgents yet remained posted on Vinegar-hill, General Lake was dispatched to dislodge them; Generals Dundas, Duff, Eustace, and Loftus were in command on this occasion, and a most brilliant victory was obtained over the enemy, whose numbers amounted

† Sir Richard Musgrave's History, vol. i.

to near twenty thousand, and the slaughter consequently was immense. Not above one hundred of General Lake's troops were either killed or wounded. In this brilliant battle of Vinegar-hill, another of the arch Jesuit rebels fell, father Clinche, priest of Enniscorthy; he rode on a white horse, an emblem *of the purity of his religion*, and the *triumphs* it must obtain over heretics, and he brandished a large scymetar; the peculiarity of these circumstances rendered him fatally conspicuous to the King's troops. The discomfited rebels in their retreat exercised the most savage brutality, committing excesses of the most horrid nature. Soon after Wexford was evacuated, and occupied by Major-general Moore, on June 22, 1798.

A detachment of the emigrants, with father John Murphy at their head, had proceeded to Goresbridge, where they were opposed by Lieutenant Dixon, with a body of dragoons, but he was obliged to retreat; then they were pursued by General Sir Charles Asgill, who completely routed them at Kilcomney-hill, when John Murphy was secured, and expiated his treason by a deservedly ignominious death; he was hanged at the head quarters of Sir James Duff, at Tullow, when his body was burnt, and his head placed on the Market-house. Another division of the rebels were defeated by General Needham, assisted by the joint exertions of the Marquis of Huntley, and General Duff.

In the north of Ireland, the rebels obtained possession of Antrim, but were obliged to evacuate it in consequence of a gallant attack made by Lord O'Neil, in which his lordship fell: they were also defeated at Ballynahinch. The most diligent search was made after those ringleaders in the south, after the suppression of the rebellion there, and Bagnal Harvey was, at length, discovered in a cave, on one of the rocks that form the harbour of Wexford, and after being tried by a court-martial, he was hanged on the bridge in that town.

Under the administration of Lord Camden some instances of excessive severity having occurred, which were pointedly animadverted upon, both in the Irish and English parliament, it was thought expedient to recal his lordship, and Lord Cornwallis was appointed his successor. The measures of the new Lord Lieutenant were of a very pleasing and conciliatory nature. His

lordship informed the House of Commons, by a message, on July 17, 1798, of "His Majesty's orders to acquaint them, that he had signified his gracious intention of granting a general pardon for all offences committed previously to a certain time, upon such conditions, and with such exceptions, as might be compatible with the public safety; but these offers of mercy were not to preclude measures of vigour against the obstinate." The conduct of Lord Cornwallis was regulated according to the tenor of this gracious message. Many notorious characters were brought to justice, among whom was Oliver Bond, Esq. a member of the Irish directory; he was sentenced to death, but that sentence was changed to banishment; a similar sentence was passed upon Messrs. O'Connor, Neilson, and M'Nevin, who were sent to Fort St. George in Scotland. An act of general amnesty, with the proper exception of those traitors resident in France, or elsewhere, was passed; in consequence of which peace and tranquillity, owing to the judicious and lenient conduct of Lord Cornwallis, was in part restored.

The government of France had beheld, with satisfaction, the civil commotions which had desolated the kingdom of Ireland; the directory had long projected a descent on the Irish coast to aid the rebels. On August 22, 1798, a fleet arrived in the Bay of Killala, in the county of Mayo, not more than one hundred and twenty miles from the capital, where nine hundred men landed, under the command of General Humbert; they marched immediately up the country, and took possession of the bishop's (Dr. Stock) palace; and a green flag was hoisted, with the popular motto of, "*Erin Go Bragh*," as a signal for the junction of the rebels. Colonel Charast being stationed at Killala, the French advanced to Castlebar on August 26; at this place Humbert issued a proclamation, in which he organised a kind of provincial government, consisting of twelve members; and he also ordered twelve regiments to be raised; he likewise enjoined every individual, from sixteen to forty, in the name of the Irish republic, to repair immediately to the French camp, to march in a mass against the common enemy of the government of Ireland, the English, whose destruction alone can secure the happiness and independence of ancient Hibernia." Major-general Hutchinson was in Connaught when the French, with the rebel Irish,

were advancing to Castlebar. The English forces were drawn up on a hill, in two lines; the first line consisted of the Kilkenny militia, the skeleton of the sixth regiment of foot, and a subaltern's detachment of the Prince of Wales's fencibles; the Fraser fencibles, with a small corps of Galway yeomen infantry, formed a second line; the four companies of the Longford were drawn up in a valley, in the rear, and a little on the left of the main body of the Kilkenny: the cavalry, consisting of the first fencibles, and a part of the sixth regiment of dragoon guards, were stationed in the rear of the first line, some piquets excepted, and some mounted yeomen who were posted in different quarters. In addition to the artillery mentioned above, which was under the direction of Captain Shortall, two more curricle guns were posted in the centre of the town, under Lieutenant Blundell, of the artillery.† About eight o'clock in the morning of August 27, the French, with the Irish, were seen advancing in columns. Humbert, after reconnoitering, halted under cover of a rising ground, and pushed forward a body of marksmen, who endeavoring to penetrate into the rear, the detachment placed for supporting the guns abandoned them; the Earls of Ormond, Longford, and Granard, endeavored to rally their men, but the English were, at length, defeated, with the loss of six hundred men, and eight pieces of cannon. Castlebar now surrendered, and became the head-quarters of the rebels and French.

General Humbert immediately marched his army towards Tuam, to which place Lord Cornwallis, in person, was advancing with a considerable body of troops; informed of this circumstance, Humbert altered his course, and made a retrograde march. At length, Lieutenant-colonel Crawford having come up with the rear of the invading army, made a gallant attack upon them, and obliged the army, consisting only of eight hundred and forty men, to surrender; the following were the official returns made of this affair:

"Return of the killed, wounded, and missing, of the King's forces at the battle of Ballinamuck, September 8, 1798.

"Officers, none killed. Privates, killed, three;

† Sir R. Musgrave's Memoirs.

wounded, twelve; missing, three. Horses, killed, eleven; wounded, one; missing, one.

" Ordnance, arms, and ammunition taken. Three light French four-pounders, five ditto, ammunition waggons nearly full of made-up ammunition, one ditto tumbril, seven hundred stand of arms, with belts and pouches, and a great number of pikes.

" Officer wounded, Lieutenant Stephens, of the carabineers.

" Return of the French army taken prisoners at the battle of Ballinamuck, September 8, 1798.

" General and other officers, ninety-six; non-commissioned officers and soldiers, seven hundred and forty-six; horses, about one hundred. N. B. Ninety-six rebels taken, three of them called general officers, by the names of Roach, Blake, and Teeling. The enemy in their retreat were obliged to abandon nine pieces of cannon, which they had taken in their former actions with his Majesty's forces.

" Names of the principal officers of the French forces, taken at the battle of Ballinamuck, on September 8, 1798.

" Humbert, General in chief; Sarazin,† General of division; Fontaine, General of brigade; Laseruse, chief of brigade, attached to the *Etat-major;* Dufour, ditto; Merrow, commissary in ordinary; Brilliere, commissary at war; Aulty, chief of battalion; Demanch, ditto; Tonpaint, ditto; Babin, ditto; Libernon, ditto; Thibault, paymaster; Puron, aid-de-camp; Frimair, ditto; Moreau, captain; Ardouin, chief of brigade; Seivé, chief of battalion; Hais, ditto; Mauchaud, ditto; Brand and Massonet, surgeons to the army.

" Recapitulation, subaltern officers ninety-six: grenadiers eight, fuzileers four hundred and forty-four, carbineers thirty-three, chasseurs sixty, canoneers forty-one.

† SARAZIN was after, very high in favor with Napoleon, in his elevation; but in consequence of some dispute, he came over to this country, where he resided a considerable time, under the provision of the Alien Act. Here he published, " The Confessions of Buonaparte;" a spirited and severe attack upon Napoleon, developing many curious anecdotes, hitherto unknown. He also published a periodical work, entitled, " The Philosopher." Sarazin is a General of great experience, and military science. He made various offers of services to government, but with such exorbitant demands as occasioned them to be rejected altogether.

Total officers ninety-six, rank and file eight hundred and ninety-four. "P. ANDOUIN."

In addition to this brilliant exploit, Admiral Sir John Borlase Warren, intercepted a small squadron, with a reinforcement of French troops, and the whole, with the exception of two frigates, were captured. Amongst those of the Irish rebels who were taken, was the notorious Theobald Wolfe Tone, *the Brissot of Ireland.* He was taken in act of open treason, acting as accredited plenipotentiary to the French republic; being thrown into prison, he put an end to his miserable and wretched existence; and thus was the country ridden of as base a traitor as ever disgraced the annals of history. There now only remained a few straggling parties of rebel banditti, who made predatory excursions from the mountains, and occasionally spread terror and consternation throughout the neighbourhood which they inhabited; among these was one commanded by a rebel of the name of Holt, whose daring courage appeared so formidable to the Irish government, that he was offered the preservation of his life, upon condition of his leaving the kingdom, which offer Holt gladly accepted; and with the surrender of this desperate character, the eventful scenes of the Irish rebellion closed, a rebellion which, at one time, threatened a total separation of that kingdom from England.

While the negociations were carrying on at Radstadt, the King of Naples declared war against France: the flagrant outrage committed by the republic on the papal dominions, had greatly irritated that monarch, who felt justly alarmed for the safety and security of his kingdom. The cabinet of St. James's had engaged to aid the King of Naples with its powerful resources; and a British fleet was ordered to co-operate with the Neapolitan army, which was commanded by the famous Austrian General Mack: he marched with an army of forty-five thousand men into the Roman territory; the French forces were inadequate to repel this unexpected attack; and Championet, who commanded the French garrison at Rome, was obliged to evacuate that city, which General Mack entered in triumph, at the latter end of November, 1798. The directory immediately declared war against

the King of Naples, and also of Sardinia. Victor Emanuel, with a small force, had been left by Championet in the castle of St. Angelo, which was summoned to surrender upon pain of the utmost rigor being exercised: but the Neapolitans received no succour from Austria, and it assuredly was absurd to have placed any reliance upon assistance from a power which had entered into a definitive treaty with the French republic; this preposterous idea was fatal in its effects, for in a series of engagements the Neapolitans were successively defeated, and General Mack was obliged to withdraw his troops to the frontiers of Naples. And the King of Naples having quitted Rome, the French General Championet again entered the city on December 16, the same year. The French army now turned upon the Neapolitans, and pursued them in their flight; Generals Macdonald, Matthiere, and Rey, advanced in different directions; the latter of whom having been joined by Kellermann, attacked the town of Gæta, which was garrisoned with four thousand Neapolitan troops, and so panic struck were they at the appearance of the French army, that the town capitulated upon the discharge of the first gun which was fired against it. General Mack had shut himself up in Capua, which was invested by Macdonald and Championet.

The King of Naples finding himself insecure in his capital, abandoned it, and entered on board the British fleet, commanded by Lord Viscount Nelson,† accompanied by the Queen, and Sir William and Lady Hamilton, on December 16, and was landed at Palermo on December 27, 1798.

The French General Serruier entered the republic of Lucca,‡ and levied a contribution to a very great amount

† This was after the battle of the Nile, an account of which is given in the next chapter.

‡ This is a small, but free and independent republic, situated on the coast of the Mediterranean, having the territory of Genoa on the west, the Modenese on the north, and Tuscany on the east. It is extremely fertile and populous. Mr. Addison says, "It is very pleasant to see how the small territories of this republic are cultivated to the best advantage, so that one cannot find the least spot of ground that is not made to contribute its utmost to the owner. In all the inhabitants there appears an air of cheerfulness and plenty, not often to be met with in those countries which lie about them." A late traveller, Mrs. Piozzi, confirms this account; she stiles it, "A fairy commonwealth." She

on the inhabitants. Capua contrived to make a brave resistance, being amply supplied with provisions, and warlike stores; and the Neapolitan peasantry, under the command of the heroic Cardinal Ruffo, greatly harassed the French. General Rey was assassinated by a female at Gæta. At this crisis, so favorable to the Neapolitan cause, Prince Pegnatelli, who had taken upon himself the supreme command, by an act of treachery effected the destruction of the kingdom; he agreed to deliver up Capua, with all its magazines and stores, to obtain a suspension of arms; he also basely consented "to yield up the whole country, from the Mediterranean to the mouth of the Ofanto; to shut the ports of the kingdom against the enemies of France, to pay ten millions of livres, (437,500*l.*) and to send an ambassador to France to treat for a definitive peace." General Mack, the officers of his staff, and his whole army, were likewise surrendered to the French: the capital was a state of insubordination, the *Lazzaroni*† had arisen in a tumultuous mass, broke open the prisons, and put to death a great many of the French, to whom they displayed the most implacable hatred; the Lazzaroni stormed the convent of the Celestines, which a number of the inhabitants of Naples had fortified, and where they had taken refuge; in fact, the whole city was given up to the lawless fury of this banditti, who, at length, marched with a design to attack the French at Capua; in this attempt a great number were killed, and a number of cruel and

observes, that Lucca "is larger than Salisbury, and prettier than Northampton, the beauties of both which places it unites, with all the charms peculiar to itself. The territory claimed by this republic, and of which no power dares attempt to dispossess them, is about the size of Rutlandshire, surrounded, and apparently fenced in by the Apennines as by a wall, and that wall a hot one on the southern sides, and wholly planted over with vines, while the soft shadows which fall upon the declivity of the mountains make it inexpressibly pretty; and form, by the particular disposition of their light and shadow, a variety which no other prospect, so confined, can possibly enjoy. Some writer calls it a ring upon the finger of the Emperor. Either the word *Liberty* has bewitched me, or I see an air of plenty without insolence, and business without noise, that greatly delight me; here is much cheerfulness too, and gay good humour." (Piozzi's Travels, vol. i. p. 333.) Besides the city, there are near one hundred and fifty small towns and villages in this republic, of which the Abbé Dupaty has given a very erroneous and partial account. Vide Dupaty's Travels, p. 57, 361, &c.

† For an account of this formidable body of beggars, the reader is referred to Brydone's elegant and interesting Travels through Sicily and Malta.

sanguinary contests ensued, which terminated at last in favor of the French, the Lazzaroni being nearly exterminated. The republican forces were now in full and undisturbed possession of the city of Naples. The King of Sardinia, who possessed little of his father's magnanimity, declined continuing the war with France, and voluntarily resigned his crown. Thus was the republic of France increasing in strength, widely augmenting its territories to the dismay and consternation of all Europe, Great Britain excepted.

CHAP. XXIX.

European War in Egypt. Storming of Jaffa. Battle of the Nile. Siege of Acre.

THE French directory, in conjunction with General Bonaparte, had long been preparing a grand project for an invasion of Egypt, and extending their arms to the British dominions in India. This grand expedition was consigned to the superintendence of Napoleon. The General embarked with the flower of that army which had effected such conquests in Italy, and on June 9, 1798, he arrived at Malta,† where being refused a landing, Bonaparte commenced an attack, which speedily occasioned the knights to enter into a capitulation. After leaving a strong garrison there, he sailed on June 21, for Egypt, and on July 1, he arrived before Alexandria, and landed his troops at Marabou: there were only five hundred Janizaries in Alexandria, and, consequently, it made a very feeble defence. In the capture of this place both Generals Kleber and Menou were wounded: leaving the former in possession of the city, Bonaparte marched his army across the desert to Rosetta, which immediately surrendered; here General Menou was left in command, while the General in chief proceeded along

† This island was the Melita mentioned in holy writ, where St. Paul was shipwrecked.

the banks of the Nile, to the celebrated city of Grand Cairo. A Turkish army is little more than an armed mob, without order, regularity, or discipline;‡ it is ill calculated at any time to contend with an European army, especially with an army, commanded by such a general. The only body of troops that could in any way impede the progress of the French, was that of the Mamalukes; ten thousand of these troops were posted at a village called Embabeh, and they made a furious resistance to the French army, but were, at length, defeated, and forced to retreat to Upper Egypt: this engagement was denominated the battle of the Pyramids. The result of this victory was the opening of the gates of Cairo to the conquering army.

Bonaparte now divided his army into three divisions; one under General Desaix, which was ordered to penetrate into Upper Egypt; another was left at Cairo; while the third, headed by himself, marched in pursuit of a Turkish chieftain, Ibrahim Bey, into Syria. General Desaix had a fleet on the river Nile, to aid and assist him in his operations; Mourad Bey was his opponent, a man of great courage and enterprise, with a powerful army, encamped in a highly advantageous position, on an eminence in the vicinity of Sedinan. The French being attacked with great fierceness, an engagement took place, in which the Mamalukes eminently distinguished themselves, but the superior tactics of the French threw them into confusion, and a horrible carnage ensued, the French being left complete masters of the field of battle. Desaix now continued his progress uninterrupted, until he came to Girgeh, the capital of Upper Egypt. Mourad not daunted by his late defeat, resolved to make another effort to crush the invaders of his country; he drew up his army near Samanhut, a village near the capital: and on January 24, 1799, Mourad Bey advanced with his Mamalukes, and attacked the French army with great impetuosity, but the good order and discipline of the French, overcame all opposition, and Mourad Bey was again obliged to quit the ensanguined plain with considerable loss, and fly for retreat into the bosom of the desert.

‡ This observation is greatly illustrated in the "Memoirs of the Baron De Tott."

On January 28, the French army entered the desert, until it arrived at the frontier town of Upper Egypt, and took possession of Syene. Another action took place between General Davoust, and Assan Bey, in which the French, though victorious, sustained considerable loss. On February 25, Desaix left Syene, on his return to Cairo: he divided his army into two divisions, with one of which he pursued Mourad Bey; while the other, under the command of General Beliard, was dispatched in search of Osmand Bey Ascar, at Benhute; Beliard attacked him in his entrenchments, and defeated him, when he immediately marched to form a junction with Desaix.

The Mamalukes had considerably harassed the French army, and Desaix deemed it expedient to endeavor to block them up in the desert; he executed various manœuvres for this purpose, as well as to cut off all communication with the Nile. A battle took place at Birampar, in which many French officers were wounded; but the French army gained the advantage. Desaix upon this commanded General Davoust to march to Beneadi, a town where a rich caravan had arrived; the soldiers set fire to this place, which was given up to plunder and pillage; a great number of the inoffending inhabitants were also cruelly put to death. Captain Renaud, with another detachment marched to Syene, where the French were attacked by Selim Bey, but his troops were routed, and driven out of the town, which was again taken possession of by them. At the close of May, the town of Cossier surrendered to the French. The celebrated De Non, who was one of the literati employed by the directory to accompany General Bonaparte to Egypt, speaking of Kench, makes the following observation in his Travels: "To this central seat of our conquests in Egypt, we found a multitude of merchants of all nations resort; pleased with our new government, and soliciting passports for their safe journey through the desert. By this intercourse with the natives of different countries, remote distances seemed to be contracted; and when we began to reckon the days required for a journey, and the necessary means of effecting it, the space to be passed over ceased to be immense, we no sooner found ourselves actually engaged, than many difficulties, formidable at first, insensibly seemed to diminish, and, at length,

totally disappeared. The Red Sea, Gidda, Mecca, seemed like neighbouring places to the town where we were; and *India itself was but a short way beyond them!* In the opposite direction were actually no more than three days journey from us, and ceased to appear to our imaginations as an undiscovered country. From Oasis by easy marches of one or two days, we arrived at Sennaar, one of the capitals of Nubia, which separates Egypt from Abyssinia and Fur, in the road to Tombuctoo, whose inhabitants are still the chief object, in Africa, of European curiosity, and whose very existence was a short time ago problematical. Many Turkish, Meccan, and Moorish merchants came to exchange their coffee and Indian cotton for our corn; yet, notwithstanding this quiet submission of the superior classes, the mass of the nation, from an error in their religion, and the dread of the beys, were still against us."

While the Generals of division were thus actively successful, Bonaparte was employed in routing the Mamalukes in Syria and Palestine, he stormed and took the city of Jaffa, or Joppa, so frequently mentioned in the holy scriptures. Bonaparte has been accused by a British officer then serving in Egypt, Lieutenant-colonel Wilson, with a savage act of barbarity; but it must be remembered, that it rests solely on his authority, and has not been corroborated by any other. The circumstances attending this event are thus related by Colonel Wilson:

"Bonaparte having carried the town of Jaffa by assault, many of the garrison were put to the sword; but the greater part flying into the mosques, and imploring mercy from their pursuers, were granted their lives; and let it be well remembered, that an exasperated army in the moment of revenge, when the laws of war justified the rage, yet heard the voice of pity, received its impression, and proudly refused to be any longer the executioners of an unresisting enemy. Three days afterwards, Bonaparte, who had expressed much resentment at the compassion manifested by his troops, and determined to relieve himself from the maintenance and care of three thousand eight hundred prisoners, ordered them to be marched to a rising ground near Jaffa, where a division of French infantry was formed against this de-

† History of the Expedition to Egypt, 4to. 1802.

fenceless multitude. Vollies of musquetry and grape instantly played upon them; and Bonaparte, who had been regarding the scene through a telescope, when he saw the smoke ascending, could not restrain his joy, but broke out into exclamations of approval," &c.

After a short residence at Jaffa, Bonaparte returned to Cairo; here he directed his attention to various subjects connected with political œconomy.

The English government had received intelligence of the sailing of the French fleet from Toulon. Admiral Sir Horatio Nelson, then cruising in the Mediterranean, received immediate orders to set sail in pursuit of it, when he descried it on August 1, 1798, at anchor in Aboukir Bay, at the mouth of the Nile, consisting of one ship of one hundred and twenty-three guns, three of eighty, and nine of seventy-four, besides others of smaller size. The French Admiral had disposed of his formidable fleet in the best manner, forming a strong line of battle, being flanked by four frigates, and several gun-boats, with the protection of a battery in the van. Admiral Nelson's fleet consisted of thirteen seventy-four gun ships, and one fifty.

He drew up his fleet in a close line of battle, in a most masterly style of nautical science; it required a more than ordinary share of talent to attack the French fleet, so judiciously situated as they were; to attack them in such a position, required the profound judgment, and splendid heroism of a Nelson. The Goliah, commanded by Captain Foley, led the fleet into battle, doubling the enemy's line, and anchoring along side of the second ship in the van; the Vanguard, bearing the flag of the British Admiral, came next. Captain Peyton, in the Defence, engaged the Franklin, which had the flag of central Admiral Blanquet Du Chelared. Four of the French ships had already struck their colours to the British flag; the centre was the place where the battle raged most tremendously. At nine o'clock a fire was descried to have burst out in the French Admiral's flag ship, the L'Orient; the conflagration raged with great fury; the French Admiral sustained the honor of his flag with heroic firmness, till he was cut asunder by a cannon ball; he had before received three desperate wounds, but could not be prevailed on to quit his station on the arm chest; his Captain, Casa Bianca, fell by his

side. Several of the officers and men, seeing the impracticability of extinguishing the fire, which had now extended itself along the upper decks, and was flaming up the masts, jumped overboard, some supporting themselves on spars, and pieces of wreck, others swimming with all their might to escape the dreadful catastrophe; shots flying in all directions dashed many of them to pieces, others were picked up by the boats of the fleet, or dragged into the lower ports of the nearest ships: the British sailors humanely stretched forth their hands to save a fallen enemy, though the battle at that moment raged with uncontrolled fury. The situation of the Alexander and Swiftsure was extremely perilous, as the explosion of such a ship as L'Orient might involve all around in destruction. Captain Hallowell, of the Swiftsure, being to windward of the burning ship, would not remove; but Captain Ball's ship having been twice set on fire by the flames of L'Orient, he was obliged to take a more distant station.

Admiral Nelson, who had been carried off severely wounded on the head, was informed of the situation of the L'Orient, and hastened on deck, directing that every exertion should be made to save as many lives as possible. Boats were immediately put out, and above seventy Frenchmen rescued.

At half past nine the fire communicated to the magazine, and L'Orient blew up with a tremendous explosion. A tremulous motion was felt to the very bottom of each ship, similar to that of an earthquake; and fragments hurled to a vast height into the air descended in about three minutes into the water, and on the decks and rigging of the surrounding ships.

No spectacle could be more sublimely awful, it exceeded all powers of description. After a solemn pause, occasioned by the above event, the engagement was renewed with great fury, and continued until three o'clock, a short cessation then took place, but at the dawn of day the engagement recommenced, during which the French frigate L'Artemise, fired a broadside at the Theseus, and then struck her colours; and soon after she caught fire, and was blown up. Rear-Admiral Ville Neuve, in the Guillaume Tell, of eighty guns; the Genereux, of seventy-four; and two frigates, made their escape. The

only ships of the enemy that were not captured, or destroyed, were the Timoleon, and the Tonnant; the former was set fire to by her crew, while the latter surrendered, to complete the glory of one of the most splendid victories the naval annals of our history record.†

When the news of this ever memorable victory reached the capital of the British empire, the most enthusiastic emotions of joy were evidenced; brilliant illuminations were universally displayed, the thanks of both houses of parliament were voted to the Admiral, the officers, and men, who had thus proudly sustained the glory of the British flag on the Egyptian seas. Admiral Nelson was elevated to the peerage, by the style and title of Baron Nelson, of the Nile, with appropriate heraldic honors to emblazon his arms.

Bonaparte was at this time at Cairo, endeavoring to cultivate a friendly intercourse with the Egyptians. He had, in various proclamations, expressed his high regard for the character of Mahomet, and the religion of the Koran. One of his Generals, Menou, had actually been circumcised, and took the name of Abdallah. Napoleon established a national institute at Cairo, to impress the Egyptians with an idea of his attachment to science. A circumstance occurred, however, which gave him a considerable degree of chagrin, which followed close upon the annihilation of his fleet. An insurrection broke out at Cairo, in which General Dupuis, and several of the soldiers were put to death: the insurgents were composed of Turks and Arabs, and they were soon subdued by the powerful effect of the French artillery; but this circumstance was calculated to remove any idea of confidence in his Egyptian friends: certain it is, that the French were held in the utmost abhorrence by the Turks, Arabs, and Egyptians; and the late victory at the Nile, inspired them with courage to make an attempt to free

† The difference of force of the French and English fleets was, English, one thousand and twenty-eight guns, and eight thousand and sixty-five men: French, one thousand two hundred and sixteen guns, and ten thousand seven hundred and ten men. Sir Edward Berry being ordered home with dispatches in the Leander of fifty guns, encountered, near Goza, Le Genereux, of seventy-four guns, which had escaped from the battle, and, after maintaining an obstinate, though unequal, contest for six hours, was obliged to strike.—See Adolphus's History of France, vol. ii. p. 420.

themselves from the yoke which the French had imposed upon them. The fury of the commander in chief led him to the perpetration of an act which the Mahometans viewed with horror: those who had been active in the sedition, fled for protection to their mosques, which, by the Mahometan law, no infidels, that is Christians, are suffered to enter; but Bonaparte ordered the doors of the mosques to be broken open, and they were all massacred. This act, while it secretly occasioned the seeds of revenge to be sown in the hearts of the Turks and Arabs, yet tended to augment greatly the power of Bonaparte, who, now viewing himself at ease, projected vast plans of aggrandisement, even the marching of his troops into the peninsula of India.

Selim III. the grand Sultan, had evidenced a great partiality for Great Britain; after the glorious battle of the Nile, he conferred the most distinguished honors upon Lord Nelson; and a treaty was entered into between England and the Sublime Porte, the design of which was to expel the French from Egypt; to counteract such measures, Bonaparte determined to march into Syria, with an army of thirteen thousand men; previous to which he placed General Dugua, in command at Cairo; Menou, at Rosetta; and Almyras, at Damietta; while Marmont was stationed at Alexandria.

General Bonaparte arrived before the walls of Acre, a town celebrated for the gallant defence it made against the crusaders, headed by Richard I. King of England, surnamed *Cœur de Lion*. The English forces had already occupied this place, and the British colours were seen proudly waving on the battlements of the town. Sir William Sidney Smith, an officer of distinguished enterprise and heroism, had the command of a small fleet, with the rank of Commodore; he had been the agent in forming the treaty with the Ottoman court, his brother, Mr. Spencer Smith, being the English Ambassador at Constantinople. Sir Sidney arrived before Acre two days before the French army; the town was commanded by the Pacha Djezzar, assisted by the experienced abilities of General Philippeaux, an illustrious emigrant. It was resolved to make a noble stand against the besiegers; part of a French flotilla laden with a battering train, and requisite artillery for the siege, was captured. In the first attempt to make a breach, the assailants were

defeated with great loss; and on April 5, the besieged made a sally with great success, and on the 7th another sally, which was equally successful. Bonoparte now dispatched Generals Junot and Kleber, against the Turks and Arabs, who formed an army of twenty thousand horse, which surrounded Kleber's army at Fouli, on the banks of the river Jordan. Kleber having been informed that reinforcements were coming to his assistance, immediately attacked the town of Fouli, which he captured, and obliged the opposing army to retire under Mount Tabor; General Laturgue also seized a camp of the Mamelukes, and brought away a considerable number of camels, with all the provisions collected there. The siege of Acre was still pushed with vigor by Bonaparte, and in one of the assaults the brave Philippeaux fell, by which the garrison sustained a very great loss, as his courage and abilities had been eminently displayed during the siege. Bonaparte now made a desperate effort to storm the town, by fresh operations, and endeavoring to effect a new breach, in the eastern curtain, by means of a sap and mine, designed to blow up the counter-scrap, but by the vigilance of the garrison, this plan, which must have been attended with the most disastrous circumstances had it operated, was providentially frustrated.

Not intimidated with the non-success of this attempt, Bonaparte made another assault, and he effected a lodgment; by the prompt exertions of his Generals, a great slaughter was made, a breach was likewise made, and some of the troops commanded by Generals Rambaud and Lasnes, entered the town, but the Turks with their sabres hewed them down as they approached; a great number of the French were slain, and the residue precipitately fled. Sir Sidney Smith, on that occasion, gave astonishing proofs of intrepidity; he placed himself at the head of some Turkish troops, and rushed into the town through the breach, and made a terrible example of the rash assailants, and was greatly instrumental in rousing the Turks to action; he likewise was unwearied in disciplining their forces. Bonaparte had withdrawn himself to an eminence designated, "Richard Cœur de Lion's Mount," where he ordered a large body of his troops to march down and enter the town through the breach, which was accordingly done, and upon their

penetrating into the interior of the town, the besieged fell upon them, and they were completely routed; General Rambaud was among the slain, and General Lasnes was wounded. Another attack was meditated by Bonaparte, but the fatal issue of the preceding ones, rendered the men disinclined to obey a mandate which must have proved their destruction; a few of the grenadiers of the twenty-first demi-brigade, solicited to be led on to the dangerous enterprize, but the event proved the rash vain glory of these unfortunate troops, most of whom were massacred; in the fatal carnage General Bon, one of Bonaparte's aid-du-camps, fell.

The conqueror of Italy began now to experience the most cruel emotions of rage and vexation; the splendor of his former achievements were now tarnished, he who had despoiled many of the princes of Europe, was now baffled by an army of Asiatics, directed by an English naval officer, and that man not a long time before a prisoner in France. Mortified thus in "the tug of war," by a brave, humane, and generous adversary; foiled in all his attempts to capture an insignificant town, vast numbers of his troops falling by the sword, and hundreds dying of the plague, this great General, whose name had struck terror into many nations, was obliged to make an ignominious and immediate retreat, after having carried on the siege of Acre for sixty days. Bonaparte yet wished to retrieve the glory which he had lost. It was easy to gloss over the disgraces which had befallen him in pompous and glowing language, he, therefore, published a proclamation, addressed to his troops, in which he boasted of the magnificent deeds and brilliant exploits done; and which was well calculated to dazzle and delude the Orientals, among whom it was circulated: the vaunting style of Bonaparte had been curiously exemplified in his bulletins of the advantages he had gained in the various actions which he had gained in the various actions in which he had proved victorious, all his troops were heroes, and their commander a demi-god; never did a warrior burn incense to his own shrine, so much as Bonaparte; it was thus in Egypt, that in the proclamation above-mentioned, he boasts of "Having traversed the deserts

which separate Africa from Asia, with force greater *than an Arab tribe,t* on Mount Tabor he had destroyed the army intended for the invasion of Europe; while the Turkish squadron which sailed for the defence of the capital of Djezzăr, had been intended for the siege of Alexandria.

"After having carried on the war with a handful of men during three months in the heart of Syria, taken forty cannon, fifty stand of colours, made six thousand prisoners, and demolished the fortifications of Gaza, Jaffa, Caiffa, and Acre" adds he, "we are about to return. But a few days more, and you might have seized the Pacha in the midst of his palace; however, at this critical season, the capture of Acre is not worth the time that would have been spent before it."

The commander in chief, after having committed some wanton outrages, marched his discomfited army back to Cairo. The raising of the siege of Acre inspired the Turks with fresh courage, Mustapha Pacha landed at Aboukir, with three thousand men, and obtained possession of Fort Aboukir. Desaix solicited reinforcements, and Bonaparte hastened to his relief, a dreadful battle ensued, in which two thousand Turks were killed, Mustapha Pacha was taken prisoner, with a great number of his army, Fort Aboukir was also taken, and the garrison made prisoners. Soon after this sanguinary engagement, Bonaparte nominated Kleber to the command of the army in Egypt, and, without developing his intentions, set sail privately for Europe, to execute a grand project, which his capacious mind had formed, and to Europe we shall follow him. After narrating the circumstances which had passed prior to his return.

CHAP. XXX.

Renewal of Hostilities with Austria. Battle of Stockach. Campaign in Italy. Termination of the Congress at Rastadt. Campaign of Marshal Suwarrow in Italy. British Expedition to the Helder.

THE coalition of Russia with the allies was a circumstance which occasioned the directory to instruct their plenipotentiaries at Rastadt, to remonstrate in a note, on January, 1799, protesting, that if the diet at Ratisbon, consented to the passage of the Russian troops, through any part of the Austrian territories, or even, if those troops were not opposed in such an attempt, it would be viewed by the French republic as an infraction of the treaty, the preliminaries of which were now discussing at Rastadt: this note being disregarded, the directory immediately declared war against the Emperor of Germany, and also against the Grand Duke of Tuscany, his brother.

The cabinet of Vienna took the wisest precautions to oppose the hostile designs of France, sixty thousand men were placed under the command of the Archduke Charles, upon the Leek; twenty thousand were collected in the Palatinate, under General Stzarray; a similar number were encamped in the country of the Grisons, commanded by General Hotze; while General Bellegarde, with a large army, was posted upon the Adige. On March 1, 1799, General Jourdan passed the Rhine at Kehl and Ferino, and crossed the same river at Huningen and Basle: and General Bernadotte besieged Philipsburg, which place was commanded by the Rhingrave of Salim; but the French were constrained, owing to the courageous behaviour of the governor, to turn the siege into a blockade. Massena, who was posted along the left bank of the Rhine, summoned General Auffenbourg to quit the country of the Grisons, and before any answer could be returned, ordered an attack to be made upon his army; the engagement lasted the whole day, and ended greatly to the disadvantage of the Austrians; and the French, in consequence, were enabled to block

up all communication between Auffenbourg and Hotze. A few days after, the former General, on his retreat, was attacked, and made prisoner, with all his army. The loss of the Austrians in the above engagements, was estimated at five thousand men killed. Massena then proceeded to attack Feldkirch, but was obliged to retreat with great loss. To counterbalance this disaster, General Lecourbe gained possession of almost all the valley of the Upper and Lower Engandine; and General Desolles routed the Austrians in the valley of Bornico. The Archduke now marched his army and seized upon Ulm; and Jourdan advanced his army near to Stockach. The Archduke obtained possession of the heights, and the bridge of Ostrach, and compelled part of the French army to fall back to the Danube, and Jourdan retreated to Stockach, to which place he was pursued by the Austrians.

Both armies now prepared for battle. On the 25th of March, Jourdan having divided his army into three columns, at the dawn of day he began the attack upon the Imperialists, General St. Cyr engaged the van guard, commanded by General Meerfeldt; the Archduke evidenced the most profound judgment and science, and after the battle had been fiercely contested, victory declared in favor of the Austrians; the French gave way on all sides, when they were pursued, and a whole brigade taken prisoners; Jourdan retreated into the defiles of the Black Forest, from whence he repaired to Paris. to consult upon the measures necessary to be taken. The Austrians continued pushing forward with rapid success, the French camp was taken by surprise, and the Archduke marched his army near the Lake of Constance, and resolved to make an irruption into the Cantons of Switzerland.

The French under General Dessolles, marched against Munster, and Lecombe against Martinsbruck; the Imperialists were, in both these attacks, defeated, with the loss of three thousand five hundred men, and twenty-five pieces of cannon.

The campaign in Italy commenced in the spring of 1799, and the French under Messena drove the Austrians from the heights between the Lake of Garda and the Adige, forced the entrenched camp at Pastrengo, and captured four thousand prisoners: but General Kray

afterward completely defeated the republicans near Legnano, when two thousand of the enemy were either killed or wounded, and six hundred taken prisoners. General Scherer, on the 5th of April, advanced with an intent to force ths Austrians beyond the Adige; in this attempt he was opposed by General Kray, who had a superior force, when the French were routed, having more than three thousand men killed or wounded, three thousand taken prisoners, and seven pieces of cannon were also taken; General Kray likewise took the French camp at Magnano.

The Austrian army was now reinforced by a Russian army, commanded by the famous Suwarrow, who joined the Austrian General Melas. The news of this junction having reached the directory, orders were sent for breaking up the congress at Rastadt, and the French plenipotentiaries were commanded to retire to Strasbourg. On April 28, 1799, they departed, Bonnier, Roberjot, and Jean De Brie, they travelled in carriages, attended by their female relatives, and the ministers of the Cisalpine republic. On their road, not far from Rastadt, they were met by a party of Austrian hussars, who stopt the carriages, and demanded the person of De Brie; notwithstanding the remonstrances of the plenipotentiaries, and the accredited character he held, which rendered his person sacred, he was dragged from the carriage, and attacked by them with their sabres, and after having inflicted many wounds upon him, they threw him into a ditch: Bonnier, and Roberjot, were instantaneously murdered; the ladies of the plenipotentiaries were suffered to proceed unmolested. De Brie was enabled, in a bleeding and suffering state, to return to Rastadt. It appeared from the existing circumstances, that this daring outrage and violation of the laws of nations, was effected through the barbarism of the military, who were not sufficiently under the government of martial discipline. The Archduke Charles hastened to asseverate before all Europe, that he was in no respect implicated, or concerned in this affair, and there is no just reason to suppose, but that the protestations made by his Royal Highness, were founded on the basis of truth.

whatever misrepresentations were made by the French government.

General Scherer passed the river Adda on April 19, 1799, and the allied Austrian and Russian armies gave him battle, near Cremona, on the 28th of the same month, in which Scherer was beaten, and four hundred of his men were taken prisoners; immediately upon which Brescia surrendered, with all its ordnance, ammunition and military stores. The allies now marched to Cassano, where they encamped in front of the French commanded by Moreau. Scherer having been superseded, Suwarrow found it indispensable to force the French lines, which undertaking was begun by General Wackassowitch's seizing a flying bridge belonging to the enemy, and the Marquis du Chasteller throwing a bridge over the river opposite Trezzo; the republicans now attacked General Serruir's division, and an engagement ensued, when the French were driven, with great loss, to Gorgonzello. This battle of Cassano was fought on April 27, 1799. Melas, the Imperial General, now obtained possession of Milan; and Wackassowitch proceeded to attack Serruier, and made him and all his army prisoners.

During these operations, the Archduke Charles was directing his attention to the invasion of the Swiss Cantons. Having arrived at Schaffhausan, he issued a proclamation, in which he declared, in the most explicit manner, the motives which led to the entry of his troops into Switzerland; that it originated from no motives of encroachment on their territorial property, or liberties, but from a desire to secure to them the free and undisturbed possession of their native rights and privileges. Schaffhausen being in the hands of the French, the gates were refused to be opened to his Highness, which were immediately forced, and the French driven across the Rhine, having lost many hundreds of men, and seventeen pieces of cannon. On April 30, General Bellegarde marched to attack the valley of the Inn, where he made an ineffectual attempt upon the French camp; Bellegarde then, in conjunction with Haddick, defeated Lecourbe, who was wounded, and Dumont, his coadjutor, taken prisoner.

Massena, in consequence of the footing which the

allied armies had obtained in Switzerland, made strenuous efforts to retrieve the disasters which had occurred; and in the first instance was partially successful; and he gained an advantage, on May 25, over General Nauendorf, and General Petrasch, upon which he retired to a strong position before Zurich; here he was attacked by the Archduke, and a most sanguinary engagement took place, in which the loss was considerable on both sides. Massena now retreated from his position, leaving Zurich, which was immediately occupied by the Imperialists; his camp and thirty pieces of cannon also fell into their hands.

In Italy success continued to await the allies. On May 5, Peschiera surrendered to General Kray, and Pezzighone to General Kaim; the latter crossed the Po, and captured Tortona. Suwarrow advanced with his army towards Turin, which city was taken by assault on May the 26th. General Kray also passed the Po, and the allies had nearly the whole possession of Italy.

The directory alarmed at the sudden transition of affairs, sent express orders to Macdonald, who was in Naples, endeavoring to subdue the loyal peasantry who bravely fought under the banners of that truly great and illustrious man, Cardinal Ruffo, to march without delay to reinforce Moreau.

On June 12, Macdonald began his operations, on which day he attacked the Imperialists, when General Hohenzoken was defeated, and he, with two thousand of his men, were made prisoners. General Ott was also attacked and obliged to retreat, and the French entered Parma. Suwarrow having received intelligence of the success which had attended Macdonald, left Turin with an army of twenty thousand men, and came up with Macdonald's army, which was posted on the banks of the Tidone: the following was the disposition of the Russian Field-Marshal; Generals Forster and Rosenberg commanded the right and the centre; the left wing was consigned to the Austrian General Melas; Prince Pangrazion had the command of the advanced guard, and Prince Lichtenstein that of the reserve; a battle commenced of a singularly sanguinary nature, which lasted three days successively; the French on the first day

were defeated with immense slaughter; and the arrival of General Kray from Mantua, with reinforcements, obliged the enemy to quit the field, flying with the utmost precipitation, and pursued by Suwarrow with his victorious army, who, during the whole of this dreadful battle, exhibited prodigies of valor; he had seven horses shot under him, and run from rank to rank, stript to his shirt, encouraging his men to action. The wreck of the French army retreated to the Apennines, and the Genoese territories. The French lost in killed, wounded, and in prisoners, seventeen thousand men; and that of the allies was tremendously great: this battle commenced on June 16, 1799.

General Pellegarde was not so fortunate, he experienced a defeat from Moreau, near to Alessandria; on the other hand, General Kaim, and Lusignan, bombarded Turin, which surrendered in a few days; in the citadel were five hundred and sixty-two pieces of ordnance, forty thousand musquets, four hundred thousand weight of powder, and vast magazines. Tuscany was now again in the hands of the Imperialists, and the strong fortress of Alessandria capitulated, with a garrison of two thousand four hundred men; and General Kray captured Mantua on July 27.

An event of still greater importance took place at this time. Naples ever since the absence of the King, had been in a tumultuous state, some renegadoes, the tools of the French, had committed many outrages, and the Neapolitan peasantry, under Cardinal Ruffo, was daily augmenting; as soon as Macdonald had left the capital, the heroic Cardinal advanced with an army of twenty thousand men, well disciplined and armed, with an auxiliary aid of a large body of Russians; his eminence had also the powerful support of the English fleet, commanded by the Hero of the Nile, having on board Ferdinand and his suite. In consequence of the formidable force now collected for the reinstatement of the King of Naples, the French were compelled to abandon his dominions, and some of the heads of the revolutionary faction, who had been active in aiding the designs of the French, were executed.

While the allies were besieging Tortona, General Joubert, now appointed commander in chief of the French

forces in Italy, marched to its relief. On August 15, Suwarrow attacked the enemy at five in the morning, Joubert was killed at an early period of the battle by a musket shot, and the command was instantly resumed by Moreau; but the engagement terminated in a total defeat of the French, who had four thousand men killed, and four thousand made prisoners: this battle was fought near Novi. After this splendid victory, Suwarrow was recalled from hence to repair to Switzerland, to co-operate with the allied armies there.

In the Palatinate, the Archduke Charles gained possession of Manheim, and fixed his head quarters at Schwetzengen; his Highness had left General Korsakow as his successor in command in Switzerland, to combat the wily and experienced Massena. In the month of September, a division of Massena's forces defeated a party of Austrians, in which contest General Hotze was mortally wounded, and taken prisoner. Korsakow then retreated into Zurich, which the French invested; the Russian General evacuating that place, was intercepted by the French near Eglisau, and nearly cut off, being obliged, with the wreck of his army, hastily to pass the Rhine. Rosenburg and Suwarrow, who were in the Grisons, defeated Lecourbe; after which the latter put his army in motion to impede the operations of Massena; and he obtained some advantages over both Lecourbe and Massena, a body of whose forces captured Constance. In three subsequent engagements the French were unsuccessful.

Suwarrow, whose position was on the banks of the Lake of Coustance, made a junction with General Korsakow, but a great degree of coolness subsisted between these commanders, and the former suddenly quitted his head quarters, and returned with his army to Russia.†

In Italy, Championet was defeated by General Melas, on September 17, with a great loss of men: he afterward took the command of the army in chief in lieu of Moreau, who resigned it to him. He was again defeated by

† There can be but one opinion as to the military talents of SUWARROW, they were great indeed, but he *wanted that* which makes the noble General, *humanity*.

Melas, on November 4. Other Imperialist Generals obtained considerable advantages over the enemy, so as to compel Championet to retire to the narrow passages of the Apennines. General Frolich captured Civita Vecchia, with General Mourrier, and three thousand republicans. Melas now ordered the Prince of Lichtenstein to besiege Corri, which was taken on December 3, and with this important event, the campaign in Italy closed.

In the Palatinate, General Ney, the republican commander, recaptured Manheim, and gained possession of the territories appertaining to the Bishopric of Spires. The French aimed at the capture of Philipsburg, which was invested and bombarded early in November, 1799. Prince Hohenlohe also at this time defeated the French in an action near Erlingham, when they sustained a loss of men, amounting to fifteen hundred killed and wounded, and seven hundred were made prisoners: the French were driven from the borders of the Necker, and obliged precipitately to quit several towns which they had occupied. Lecourbe was assailed and defeated by General Stzaray; the blockade of Philipsburg was raised; and under the influence of these disastrous events, the French continued to retreat, and ultimately fixed their head quarters at Manheim. Lecourbe having proposed a suspension of arms to Stzaray, the Archduke refused to agree to it, and the enemy, in consequence, viewed it expedient to evacuate Manheim, which terminated the campaign in Germany.

While the Imperialists were thus triumphant, the British cabinet were employed in preparing what was called a *secret expedition* to the coast of Holland; it had too frequently been the case, that expeditions of this nature had failed in their operation from some egregious mismanagement, and unforeseen obstacles. Although this projected invasion of Holland, in which the Emperor Paul of Russia was a coadjutor, had been planned early in the spring of 1799, yet it was the latter end of August, in the same year, before the squadron could set sail. It was stipulated that seventeen thousand Russian troops should be taken into pay, in the service of Great Britain. On this occasion the British force to be employed was to amount to thirty thousand troops; and the

city of Amsterdam was to be the grand object of attack. In the command of the troops, Sir Ralph Abercromby was selected to serve under the immediate orders of his Royal Highness the Duke of York; the flotilla was committed to the care of Admiral Mitchel, who had instructions to attack the Dutch fleet in the Texel. The squadron, while at sea, received a reinforcement of ten ships of the line, from Lord Duncan. The Helder was the place fixed for the disembarkation of the troops, at which the fleet arrived on August the 29th, when a summons was sent to Admiral Story, to deliver up the fleet, and to the Dutch commander at the Helder. The British forces landed under very great disadvantages, commanded by Sir James Pulteney, and General Coote, The Dutch General Daendels, having been apprised of this invasion in the north, had collected together as many forces as the urgency of the occasion could call for, but he was obliged to retreat before the superior number of the British troops, which had been reinforced since landing. The fleet in the Texel was delivered up to the English Admiral by Story, he who behaved *so valiantly* in the battle of Camperdown; the fleet consisted of thirteen sail of the line, three India ships, and some transports: the English forces also obtained possession of Huysdrimen, where a great quantity of cannon was found. The Dutch troops now received a seasonable auxiliary aid from General Brune, who arrived at Alkmaar, with a well disciplined army, in addition to which General Dumonceau formed a junction with the above troops, with a large body of forces under his command. The united republican army was truly formidable, and Brune prudently resolved to make an attack upon the invaders before any fresh reinforcements should arrive. Sir Ralph Abercromby, though greatly inferior in force, had so strongly fortified himself, that the attack of General Brune ended in a repulse, in which he experienced a great loss.

His Royal Highness the Duke of York arrived in the middle of September, a period so late in the season, that no peculiar advantages could, with any propriety, be expected. He must have been a weak-sighted politician indeed, who could not, on the contrary, have foreseen from this injudicious procrastina-

tion, the most disastrous consequences. The French were unremitted in their exertions, and while the British forces were so long delayed, such arrangements were made as tended to promote their security. His Royal Highness made as judicious a disposition of his army as circumstances would permit, and resolved to make an immediate attack upon the enemy; he divided his army into four columns, one of which was composed of Russian troops, the commander of which, General Hermann, made a rash and furious attack, on September 19, and was obliged to retreat in great confusion, with a very heavy loss. General Dundas was upon the point of gaining some considerable advantages, having carried an entrenched post of great importance, when the unexpected retreat of the Russians disconcerted his plan of operations. In vain did the Duke of York rally his forces, the Russians were not to be restored to order, panic struck, they fled in all directions. A division of British forces, under Sir James Pulteney, was peculiarly fortunate in driving General Daendels from an admirable position he had taken, and, in conjunction with General Coote, was proceeding to attack Koedike, when, in consequence of orders transmitted to him by the commander in chief, he suddenly retreated. Sir James acquired great honor in this affair, having killed a great number of the enemy, and taken nine hundred prisoners. In the official accounts published, the loss of the Russians was estimated at one thousand seven hundred and odd, killed, or taken prisoners; and one thousand two hundred, and more, wounded.

The Duke of York formed a plan now to dislodge the French and Dutch army from its formidable position at Bergen. The Russians, notwithstanding their dastardly behaviour, were again brought forward to action, a circumstance highly impolitic, and apparently unfavorable to the British troops, but owing to the heroic behaviour of the latter, who fought under peculiar disadvantages, a slight victory was obtained, the behaviour of the allies being similar to that in the former action. This battle took place October 2, 1799; and upon the dispatches arriving in London, containing the particulars, the Park and Tower guns were fired. The

British sustained a loss on this occasion which was a serious counterbalance to the victory, two thousand one hundred and twenty being either amongst the slain, the wounded, or taken prisoners. The Duke of York was enabled, in consequence of this engagement, to occupy a considerable extent of country; but the winter season had now approached, and, in addition to various other difficulties, his army had experienced, it had to encounter all the rigors of that period of the year, in a northern icy clime. The situation of his Highness was very critical, he had been deserted by the allied troops; he had been altogether misled by an erroneous statement of the *existing circumstances* of Holland, he found the French force much stronger than he had reason to expect; he was again disappointed in observing no disposition in the Dutch republicans to co-operate with him in favor of the house of Orange; already had he sustained a great loss of men, and the campaign, upon the whole, had been very inauspicious. His Highness dispatched General Don to the executive directory of Holland, but General Brune, contrary to principles of honor, directed him to be detained a prisoner; the Duke immediately put his army in motion, with an idea of making a grand attack upon the enemy; the Russians being again employed, *again* proved injurious to the British interest; in former instances they had refused to obey orders, now they went beyond them, and occasioned another engagement to terminate disadvantageous to the allies.

That intrepid and experienced commander, General Sir Ralph Abercromby, had, with deep regret, observed the events which had taken place, and, at length, he viewed it an imperious duty, in conjunction with other of his brother officers, to draw up a memorial, in the form of an *expose*, or representation of the melancholy state of the British forces, and the incalculable difficulties which awaited the prosecution of further hostilities; it was, therefore, humbly submitted to his Royal Highness, whether it was not expedient to retreat without delay to the coast, and transmit the particulars to England, respecting the state of the army, and wait for instructions. The Duke of York perfectly coincided

in opinion with the sentiments expressed in this memorial. It was resolved, at length, to evacuate Holland; and his Highness dispatched General Knox to the head quarters of the enemy, with proposals for that purpose, which were agreed to; the terms were such as might naturally be looked for under such adverse circumstances, but truly humiliating to Great Britain. Eight thousand French and Dutch prisoners were to be set at liberty; and the Helder was to be placed in the same state as it was prior to the capture of it. The Russian forces were, consequently, allowed to re-embark without injury or molestation.

CHAP. XXXI.

State of Parties in Paris. Bonaparte dissolves the Council of Five Hundred, and of the Ancients. A New Constitution. Bonaparte elected First Consul.

1799, 1800.

IN the former periods of the French revolution, we have had occasion to notice some of the most sanguinary scenes which the page of history can present to view. After the execution of Robespierre, and the dissolution of the power of the Mountain faction, a calm succeeded that terrible storm which had so long desolated France by its ravages. When those men were in power, nearly as many fell at home by the axe of the guillotine, as were slain in the field of battle; the population of the country was greatly diminished, and its trade and manufactures annihilated; but when the *Moderates*, (those who were in opposition to the Robespierrians,) came into power, a beneficial change of measures gave to France a dignity, and a power, which her republic had never yet experienced. Her armies were only to be controuled by the Herculean strength of British prowess, neither had she any nation but England that was a bulwark against the audacious spirit of territorial aggrandisement

which actuated her rulers; even that General who had gained such proud laurels on the continent of Europe, was foiled by a handful of British heroes, and slunk away in disgrace from the shore of Egypt, appalled by the thunder of Nelson, and the splendid glory of Sir Sidney Smith.

To an enterprising mind, no difficulties will damp the powers of exertion; and posterity will ever designate Napoleon Bonaparte as a man of *singular enterprise*. Disgraced in the eastern world, he hastened to achieve a great event in the western. He could not return to Paris as he hitherto had done, with the spoils of empires, and the smiles of kings; he who had been accustomed to receive the incense of adulation from a nation ever prone to flattery, was now to be interrogated by the directory, respecting the failure of that expedition with which he had been entrusted. There was but one way which appeared to Napoleon calculated to preserve his glory, and which at the same time would gratify his boundless ambition; this was to annihilate the existing government of France, and organise another, of which he should be the head. It was to act upon the system which Oliver Cromwell had adopted in England, in the middle of the seventeenth century, that he left his army in Egypt, and secretly repaired to France.

At this time the Jacobins had little sway in the nation, and the remnant of that party was incorporated with the council of five hundred. Bonaparte having so long been the popular idol, notwithstanding the censures of some persons for his conduct in Egypt, still remained high in public estimation; and he had a number of adherents, who were able and willing to support *his interest* at all events. Amongst these the Abbé Sieyes was chiefly distinguished, and his influence was very predominant; he was an avowed enemy of the Jacobins, and had at this time a seat in the directory. Much displeasure had lately been expressed against the executive government, and it was even insinuated, that the failure of Bonaparte was to be laid at the door of the existing authorities: Sieyes was the only director who was respected, and he was the confidential friend of the General; these circumstances combined, augured well

for Bonaparte. Upon his return from Egypt he was received in a very flattering manner, and through the medium of Sieyes, it was ordered that a public festival should be held on November 6, 1799, in honor of Napoleon; this was the prelude to the great scene about to be acted.

On November 9, a committee of the council of ancients presented a report, which, after an enumeration of various grievances, alleged, that the country was absolutely in danger; the report closed with proposing, that the sittings of the legislature should be removed from the capital to St. Cloud; this measure be acceded to, the council of ancients, and that of five hundred, assembled on the ensuing day, at the above-mentioned place, which was a few miles from Paris. At this meeting a letter was read from the secretary to the directory, which occasioned a considerable degree of agitation in the council of five hundred, it stated, that four of the directors had resigned their office; and that Barras, the fifth, had been put under arrest, by the express order of General Bonaparte: a violent discussion ensued; and during this altercation, General Bonaparte made his appearance at the bar, with a retinue of officers, and some grenadiers. Lucien Bonaparte, the General's eldest brother, was then seated in the chair, as president; a number of Jacobin members were present, and their indignation was expressed in the most vociferous manner: "Behold another Cromwell!" exclaimed one; "What a traitor!" cried another; "Ah, the usurper!" added a third; and several of the most indignant pressed upon him, when an attempt was made to stab him with a dagger, but the General was rescued by the interference of the grenadiers.

Lucien Bonaparte then left the chair, and was almost immediately carried off by a body of armed men; a few minutes after, while the council was deliberating what measures should be taken for the preservation of its legislative authority, a body of troops entered the hall, and all the members of the council precipitately fled.

The council of ancients, who were in the interest of the General, voted thanks to those brave men who had

preserved the life of the commander in chief in the hour of danger.

A committee of public safety was now formed, a report from whom was delivered to the General, which pointed out, in very energetic language, the defects of the present constitution of government; and the absolute necessity of abolishing the executive directory; and it was proposed in the report, that a new constitution should be formed, and the supreme power vested in three Consuls. Decrees were made in conformity to the above report, which was confirmed by the council of five hundred.

The Consuls who were first chosen, were, Bonaparte, Sieyes, and Ducos, who presented, in December, 1799, the plan of the new constitution, which decreed the appointment of a conservative senate, to which was committed the power of nominating the whole body of legislators, and the executive power, but the members of which were precluded from holding any situation in the government themselves.

The whole and entire sovereignty was vested in one Consul, under the title of, *Chief Consul;* his authority was restricted to the term of ten years, when he might be re-elected: to him appertained the exclusive privilege of enacting new laws; the two other Consuls were mere *automatons*, whose business it was to put in force, conjointly with the first, what in *his* sovereign wisdom he might think proper to propose, they were divested of all controuling power.

The legislative power was entrusted to two assemblies; the one denominated, a Senate; the other, a Tribunal: the former composed of three hundred members, and the latter of one hundred; the latter had liberty to debate upon any measure, proposed by the Chief Consul, and there the duty of the tribunal ceased; but the members of the senate were permitted to vote according to their sentiments, but were prohibited debating.

The Chief Consul, and the senate, were not responsible for any measures adopted, but only the ministers of state.

From the primary assemblies the people were to select one tenth of their number as candidates for subal-

tern offices: and those were in their turn to choose one tenth of their number as candidates for higher offices: and from this latter number, were the Consuls, and legislators to be nominated, by the conservative senate; but, by a particular clause, this last and very important article was not to be acted upon, until the ninth year of the republic.

In consequence of this new code of laws, Napoleon Bonaparte was appointed Chief Consul, Cambaceres second, and Lebrun the third.

This constitution was organised by the Abbé Sieyes, with the express design of elevating his friend General Bonaparte, to a situation of absolute authority; the Abbé enrolling himself amongst the members of the conservative senate, and receiving an ample remuneration in landed property, for his seasonable and important services.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.